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The purpose of this study was to explore the form and meanings of North Carolina American Indian powwow dress. To address this purpose, I examined powwow regalia worn by North Carolina American Indians at local powwows. Having lost their tribal culture and identity with early European contact, North Carolina American Indians began to look to Plains Indian practices like the powwow to regain their American Indian identity, and by the 1960s, began holding public powwows. These powwows allow North Carolina American Indians to create tribal identities through dance and dress styles. Historic Plains Indian styles are the primary influences on dress at North Carolina powwows and are used to create familiar images of the American Indian for powwow spectators. While there is evidence of more local tribe-based influences on North Carolina American Indian regalia, little research has examined the impact of this influence, or that of the Plains styles, on North Carolina American Indian powwow regalia. Thus, this study addresses a major gap that exists within the literature.

An ethnographic approach to research was used to address the purpose of the study. Specifically, powwow regalia worn for the Northern Men's Traditional Dance, the Grass Dance, and the Fancy Dance were investigated. Four methods of data collection were employed, including observation, visual documentation, field interviews, and in-depth interviews. A total of 11 powwows were observed. Field interviews were conducted with ten Northern Men's Traditional dancers, two Grass dancers, and one Fancy dancer. In-depth interviews were then conducted with eight of the thirteen

participants. Interviews were transcribed and analyzed along with observation and visual data for broader issues related to the form and meaning of powwow dress. Data analysis revealed that powwow regalia creates meaning for the participant by establishing and communicating a personal, tribal, and general American Indian identity. Thematic interpretation of the data revealed that distinct elements of the regalia represent these separate identities.

Although the influence of historic Plains Indian dress was seen in this study, findings also reveal Eastern Woodlands historic dress influences emerging in North Carolina American Indian powwow dress. Cultural authentication was employed as a theoretical framework to explain how these influences are indicative of the adoption of dress between cultural groups and across time periods. Although this study addresses major gaps in the literature, it also points to the need for further inquiry into ways that different groups use dress to establish and maintain a cultural identity.

CONTEMPORARY NORTH CAROLINA AMERICAN INDIAN POWWOW DRESS: AN EXPLORATION OF TRADITION, CULTURE, AND IDENTITY

by

Beth Metcalf Bell

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Approved by

Dr. Nancy Hodges
Committee Chair

DEDICATION

First, I dedicate this dissertation to my mother, Jeannine Metcalf. While I was growing up, our family faced many adversities. You led us through those times with strength and grace. As I have traveled through my adult life, I have always tried to live my life as a tribute to the love and guidance that I have received from you. I think this strategy has served me well so far. Even now as a wife, mother, and professional, you are the one I go to for advice. I dedicate this dissertation to you for leading me to this point in my life and the hope that I can spend many more years learning from your wisdom.

Second, I dedicate this dissertation to my husband, Eddie Bell. We have been together for many years, since high school. You have supported me through an associate's degree to a PhD. I love you more that I could ever image I would 26 years ago when we met. You are the one that I turned to for support during my many attempts to balance my busy life of mother, wife, full-time teacher, and full-time graduate student for the last 10 years or so. I would definitely have never achieved any of this without you.

Lastly, I wish to dedicate this dissertation to my beautiful daughter, Carolina Bell. Just as your grandma inspired me to be a strong and independent woman, I hope that I am some inspiration to you as you grow and leave for your own life adventure in the next few years. What I do, I do for you.

APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of The Graduate School at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

American Indians living in what would become the United States of America encountered European-Americans at different times over a period of several hundred years. The American Indians of the East were the first to create relationships with these newcomers because of geographical location (Oakley, 2005). In contrast, Indians in the western parts of the United States may not have seen any Europeans until the 1800s (Flavin, 2002). Regardless of when and where American Indians first met these new inhabitants, long held cultural practices began to change as a result of increasing contact with them. Ultimately, as the culture of the American Indians changed, so did their identity.

Comprised of eight state or federally recognized tribes with approximately 100,000 total members today, North Carolina American Indians were assimilated very early on. Thus, much of their tribal identity has been lost to time. Given this loss, modern North Carolina American Indians have endeavored to create their own cultural identity in contemporary Southern society (Oakley, 2008). To re-establish ethnic and cultural practices specific to their tribes, they have focused on developing unique types of ceremonies, and especially those that involve special types of dance. Yet these dances, and accompanying styles of dress, are largely borrowed from other American Indian tribes, and particularly those that were easily identifiable to non-Indians. North Carolina

Indians, like others who lost their heritage to European colonization, began to host public events showcasing this ceremonial dance and dress to entertain non-Indians as well as socialize with each other. Now known as powwows, the dances are modern adaptations of those created before Plains Indians first interacted with European-Americans, and prior to being removed from their ancestral lands or forced onto reservations (Browner, 2004). Dress worn for these dances hearkens back to the dress worn before colonization moved Indians to reservations, yet often incorporates modern elements representing the American Indian in contemporary society.

In this dissertation, changes in American Indian cultural practices, and specifically those in North Carolina, are examined through an analysis of modern ceremonial dress. This analysis explores how historic dress, including both pre- and post-European-American contact, became the basis of modern American Indian ceremonial dress, and, in turn, influenced modes of expression of identity by different American Indians in North Carolina (Lerch, 1992a). The American Indians of North Carolina, like many other American Indian tribes, use dress to remind themselves of their heritage and communicate to others that they are American Indian.

In this chapter, I provide an introduction to the dissertation topic. The purpose, objectives, and justification of the dissertation are also discussed. This is followed by a brief overview of the methodological approach and theoretical framework employed in the study.

Background

North Carolina American Indians

According to Oakley (2005), just before European contact in the sixteenth century, there were 50,000 American Indians living in the area of what is now called North Carolina. Tribes in North Carolina that are recognized today are descended from these 50,000 Indians. There were three language groups among these early Indians (Oakley, 2005). Hatteras, Pamlicos, and Weapemeocs were Algonkian speaking tribes that lived near the coast. The Siouans lived in the Piedmont and the Southeastern part of the state. This group consisted of the Enos, Saponis, Occaneechis, and Waccamaws. The Cherokees, Tuscaroras, Meherrins, and Corees were Iroquoian speaking tribes (Oakley, 2005). Tribes like the Waccamaw, Woccon, and Cape Fear lived on the Southeastern coastal plain of North Carolina (Lerch & Bullers, 1996).

European settlers arrived in North Carolina in the mid 1600s. Over the next few centuries, North Carolina's Indian tribes would be destroyed by a number of external forces, including wars fought against European-Americans, wars fought with European-Americans, forced removal, and diseases to which they held no immunity (Oakley, 2005). Many North Carolina tribes, including the Occaneechi-Saponi, Haliwa-Saponi, and the Waccamaw-Sioux, can trace their ancestry to the time of this first contact.

By the early 21st century, there were approximately 100,000 American Indians living in North Carolina (Oakley, 2005). The United States Bureau of Indian Affairs recognizes certain tribes for reasons related to governmental regulations and benefits (Bonney & Paredes, 2001). Other tribes are recognized in a similar way by state

governments. Currently there are eight American Indian tribes that are officially recognized by the state of North Carolina and one tribe that is federally recognized (Oakley, 2005). The Eastern Band of the Cherokee is the only federally recognized tribe in North Carolina. The eight tribes that are state recognized are located throughout North Carolina and include the Sappony, the Meherrins, the Haliwa-Saponi, the Waccamaw-Siouans, the Lumbees, the Occaneechi-Saponi, and the Coharies (Lerch, 1992b).

American Indian Ceremonial Practices

The most common form of public ceremony engaged in by the American Indian today is the powwow. Tribes located in the Great Plains of the United States were not influenced by white culture until much later than those in the East. As a result, Plains Indian tribes kept their traditional ceremonial practices longer than tribes to the East, holding onto them in an attempt to avoid losing their heritage altogether (Browner, 2004). Forced to live on reservations by the early 1900s, Plains Indian tribes began to draw from their historical dances and ceremonial practices to create the powwow (Browner, 2004). Lerch (2001) defines a powwow as "a festival held and sponsored by one or more tribes or communities" (p. 144). Yet the powwow is more than just a festival, it is a culture. Ellis and Lassiter (2003) describe powwow culture as "a complicated amalgam of sources and practices reflecting both particular and generalized notions of identity" (p. viii). At the beginning of the twentieth century, these sources and practices became the tools most often used by American Indians to connect ceremonial practices of the past with their cultural present and future.

By the late 1960s and early 1970s, other Indians increased their efforts to keep their culture intact (Oakley, 2008). Among the first in North Carolina were the Haliwa-Saponi, starting in the 1960s (Everett & Richardson, 2003). The Waccamaw-Siouan of Southeastern North Carolina presented their first powwow in 1970 (Lerch & Bullers, 1996). By the 1990s, powwows had become an accepted part of American Indian culture in North Carolina.

Although powwows are not indigenous to North Carolina tribes, they have now become a part of their ethnic identity. As Goertzen (2005) explains, powwows are used to establish and communicate American Indian identity to others, writing that "Indians use powwows to encourage the surrounding world to respect both the nature and the boundaries of their communities" (p. 285). Participating in the powwow distinguishes one as a member of the tribe rather than just an ordinary person living in modern American society. Moreover, powwows allow North Carolina Indians to create experiences that transcend everyday life. For example, Indians might experience ethnic bias or other indignations during their everyday lives, but, "The Indian imaged at powwows is not a contemporary Indian, dressed in everyday street clothes. Rather, the Indians depicted in their regalia retain some traditional dress styles, dance, and behavior, symbolizing their resistance to assimilation" (Lerch, 2001, p. 154). These experiences allow powwow participants to connect the past with the present and forge their identity as a member of the tribe.

According to Fixico (2006), "powwows are social dances for all tribes … to gather and dance with competitions for traditional and fancy dancing" (p. 129). Most

powwows are gatherings that start on Friday night and continue into Saturday night or Sunday, with various categories of dance taking place. Dancing at a powwow occurs in what is known as a dance circle, with spectators seated on bleachers or chairs surrounding it. The music for the dance is provided by a drum circle positioned adjacent to the dance circle under a tent.

All powwows begin with a Grand Entry. The Grand Entry is used to introduce each dancer to the audience and to pay tribute to veterans and other important people in attendance. After the Grand Entry, the dances begin. Dances are called by the Master of Ceremonies. The Master of Ceremonies controls the pace and order of the powwow, introduces the drum groups, and pays any tributes (Mattern, 1999). Some dances are held as contests that allow dancers to compete against others from the same dance category, while other dances might be intertribal, meaning all dancers from any tribe or dance category can enter the circle to dance. Spectators at powwows are expected to act with respect and restraint while watching dances, eating Indian food, or browsing vendor booths. This respect, restraint, and support indicates appreciation for American Indian cultural identity.

Ceremonial Dress and Powwows

Distinctive dances, often of Plains Indian origin, are typically performed at modern powwows (McCarl, 1996). Traditionally, Plains Indian tribes danced in prescribed regalia consisting of certain garments and accessories assigned to a specific powwow dance. As a result, most powwow regalia is based on traditional Plains Indian clothing styles worn throughout the 1800s and early 1900s (Browner, 2004). These styles

are recognizable to non-Indians due to many 19th century artists who influenced the development of the image of the "American Indian" over time. During the early 19th century, these artists often painted male Plains Indians because they hunted buffalo, rode horses, and appeared as the "noble warrior." One of the most prolific artists of that time was George Catlin. He often painted male Indians in their finest ceremonial dress (see Figures 1 & 2). Modern powwow dances are derived from ceremonial war dances of these male horse warriors, as is the style of dress worn during the dances (Flavin, 2002).

Figure 1. An American Indian wearing hairpipes. From an 1831 George Catlin painting. *Note:* Copyright 2002 by www.georgecatlin.org.

Figure 2. Pasheepaho, a chief of the Sac & Fox tribe. Drawn in 1833 wearing a crow belt during a treaty signing. *Note:* From *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indians*. (p. 289), by George Catlin, 1944, New York: Wiley and Putnam.

There are several possible reasons for the integration of Plains Indian styles in modern powwows rather than styles indicative of other tribes. The first is the idea of Pan-Indianism. According to Lerch and Bullers (1996), Pan-Indianism is defined as "cultural patterns that cut across traditional tribal boundaries to unite people in a wider, regional, or national identity" (p. 390). For example, many of the dress styles seen at North Carolina powwows can also be seen at powwows around the country because of their Pan-Indian aspects. An example of one of these dress styles is the bustle. Worn on the back, the modern bustle is a circular fan comprised of feathers with some type of adornment at the center. As will be discussed in detail in Chapter II, Fancy Dancers and

Traditional Dancers wear variations of the bustle at powwows around the country (see Figures 3 & 4) (McCarl, 1996). The Pan-Indian symbols in the regalia combine with those local to North Carolina tribal practices such that both influences "flow in and out of each other" (Lerch, 1992a, p. 33).

Figure 3. A traditional bustle. At the Cherokee powwow in July 2012. *Note:* All photographs taken by author unless otherwise noted.

Figure 4. Fancy Dance bustles. At the Cherokee, North Carolina Powwow in July 2012.

Another explanation for Pan-Indianism stems from the repeated exposure of Indian culture to non-Indians. Many non-Indians have a mental image of the "American Indian" that is based largely on the Great Plains Indian of the nineteenth century (Oakley, 2005). That is, during the nineteenth century, many photographers and ethnographers

studied the Indians of the Plains (Paterek, 1994). Information provided by these early studies is used by today's American Indians for identification purposes. While it is easier for Plains Indians to justify the use of their own historical dress in their powwows today, tribes like those in North Carolina also use styles inspired by Plains Indian dress to connect with outsiders (Lerch, 1992a). Essentially, North Carolina American Indians use the main components of a powwow - the drums, the dance, and the dress - to reinforce tribal unity and call attention to their "Indianness."

A Focus on Men's Powwow Dress

Dress is one of the most important ways for powwow participants to express their cultural and tribal identity. Thus, this dissertation examines dress as a primary element within the powwow context. Influences of the Plains Indian warrior societies of the past are seen in most American Indian ceremonial dress or regalia today, thereby placing men at the center of the powwow (Browner, 2004). Men's dress is therefore the focus of this study, and particularly that worn for three of the most popular men's dances: *Northern Men's Traditional Dance, Grass Dance,* and *Fancy Dance*. Although some elements of the regalia overlap, as will be discussed in depth in Chapter II, each dance and the dress prescribed for it is unique.

Dress can communicate various meanings depending on what is worn. According to Roach-Higgins and Eicher (1995), "the list of possible meanings communicated by types of dress is seemingly endless. Dress, may, for example, make a statement about age, gender, social class, school affiliation, or religion" (p. 11). Therefore, a dancer's powwow dress may communicate tribal affiliation, personal preferences in color or style,

or even personal interests. Dancers use distinct stylistic elements in their powwow dress to communicate who they are. Their identity is based partly on this communication. Stone (1995) states:

> When one has identity, his is situated – that is, cast in the shape of a social object by the acknowledgement of his participation or membership in social relations. One's identity is established when others place him as a social object by assigning him the same words of identity that he appropriates for himself or announces. (p. 23)

North Carolina American Indians use powwow dress to not only communicate who they are, but to reinforce this identity by being seen as an Indian by those attending the powwow.

In addition to using Plains Indian dress as a tool for communicating Indian identity, North Carolina tribes are beginning to explore evidence of their tribal past and are introducing historical aspects of their own tribal culture into their modern powwow dress. As some North Carolina tribes have begun to reinterpret their own past, they have adapted their regalia based on historical information available about Alquonkian Indians, Iroquoian Indians, and Siouan Indians. Moreover, during the past 10 years, more North Carolina American Indians are wearing ceremonial dress that incorporates elements of prescribed styles with personal touches (Goertzen, 2005). Thus, in this dissertation, North Carolina American Indian dress is examined as a fusion of the past and present, Plains and regional/local influences, as well as personal and cultural identity.

Purpose and Objectives

The purpose of this study is to examine powwow dress worn by North Carolina American Indians. Sources of influence on North Carolina powwow regalia styles are investigated, including how North Carolina tribes use Plains Indian elements along with historical information about local ancestral tribes to create their own style of powwow dress. This study also explores the notion of authenticity with respect to North Carolina American Indian dress. The framework of cultural authentication is used to interpret the meanings of powwow dress resulting from the integration of various influences. Cultural authentication is defined as the "process of assimilating an artifact or idea external to a culture by accommodative change into a valued indigenous object or idea" (Eicher & Erekosima, 1980, p. 83). The notion of cultural authentication is used to understand how both Plains Indian dress and locally historical dress converge to create the contemporary powwow regalia of North Carolina American Indian tribes.

The goal of this study is to understand powwow regalia from the perspective of the North Carolina American Indian. There are several guiding questions that were used to structure the investigation, including: *What role does dress play in the powwow? What does ceremonial dress mean to North Carolina American Indians? Do North Carolina American Indians see their ceremonial dress as authentic? Why or why not? What role does powwow dress play in defining tribal culture? What role does powwow dress play in the expression of ethnic identity?* A qualitative methodology is used to address these guiding questions. Specifically, an ethnographic approach forms the basis of the research design, wherein the methods of observation, interviews, and visual documentation were

employed for data collection.

Gaps in the Research

In spite of the available research on North Carolina American Indian powwows, there are several gaps in our overall knowledge. For example, studies by prominent researchers about North Carolina Indian tribes provide little to no information on their ceremonial dress, and overlook the potential implications of ceremonial dress worn at powwows for understanding the identity of the North Carolina American Indian. No account currently exists that examines in detail styles of dress worn, the meanings of these styles, or their origins. Moreover, the large gap between the vast collection of information available on Plains Indian dress, and the almost non-existent collection of information pertaining to dress among the American Indian tribes of North Carolina points to an enormous need for research, a need that is, in part, addressed by this dissertation.

There are also limited resources available that allow for comparison of historical North Carolina American Indian dress with contemporary North Carolina American Indian ceremonial dress. This gap might be attributed to the difficulty in finding evidence of historical ceremonial dress used by the Indians of North Carolina. The forced uprooting of many Southeastern tribes in the 1800s and the assimilation of others into European-American society resulted in the loss of cultural identities and symbols, particularly when these tribes were introduced to different regions of the country and to other tribes (Paterek, 1994). The original styles of North Carolina ceremonial dress are not known, due in large part to the lack of information available about North Carolina

tribal customs from a historic perspective. This dissertation provides a basis for understanding what has thus far been overlooked in the literature.

Methodological Considerations

As mentioned earlier, an ethnographic approach was used to address the purpose of the study (Sluka & Robben, 2007). According to Lassiter (1998) ethnography has "the potential to address the meaning and power of culture in people's everyday lives" (p. 48). Powwows are the main tool that North Carolina American Indians use to express their culture to the outside world. The purpose of this research is to investigate this culture in relation to tribal identity, therefore an ethnographic study was deemed the most useful and valuable research approach for this particular study.

Specific methods used to collect data included observation, visual documentation, and interviews. Data were collected with respect to tribes from North Carolina and South Carolina, including the Eastern Band of the Cherokee, the Haliwa-Saponi, Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation, and the Lumbee. The Haliwa-Saponi was the leader in the North Carolina American Indian cultural movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s. The Haliwa-Saponi hosted their first public powwow in 1967 (Everett & Richardson, 2003). The Lumbee tribe is the largest tribe in North Carolina and comprises approximately 47% of the American Indian population of North Carolina (Oakley, 2005). The Eastern Band of the Cherokee is the only federally recognized tribe located in North Carolina and the Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation is the latest tribe to be recognized by the state of North Carolina. After attending powwows throughout the state to collect preliminary data for the study, I found that these tribes have the most active

participation at each powwow. Those most active in powwow dancing have a greater understanding of its significance for tribal culture, which, in turn, aided in the exploration of how dress is used during the events.

As will be discussed in full in Chapter III, to collect data for the dissertation, I attended eleven powwows held throughout North Carolina and Southern Virginia from late May until mid October 2012. These powwows included large, multi-tribal festivals as well as smaller, tribal based powwows. While attending each powwow, I identified, photographed, and conducted field interviews with a total of thirteen male powwow participants affiliated with the tribes chosen for this study. To identify potential participants for the study, contacts were made at powwows by personal introduction and through the Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation tribal affiliation office. The goal of the field interviews was to investigate the participant's knowledge of his powwow dress, awareness of the historical aspects of his regalia, and how symbols of tribal identity are represented in his dress.

After attending the powwows, I conducted in-depth interviews with eight of the participants that were interviewed in the field. The in-depth interviews allowed me to delve more deeply into what powwow dress means for the personal and social identity of each participant. Interview data were then combined with observation data and visual documentation to develop a thorough understanding of ceremonial dress worn by North Carolina American Indian males at North Carolina powwows.

Theoretical Considerations

As North Carolina Indians re-create local traditions and practices, it is important to examine the role of outside influence on their resulting tribal identities. For the purposes of this dissertation, the framework of cultural authentication was used to frame powwows and ceremonial dress within the context of modern North Carolina American Indian cultural practices. Eicher and Erekosima (1980) suggest that cultural authentication helps to explain how some ethnic groups "borrow" from other groups and why this "borrowing" becomes part of an ethnic group's traditional practice (Eicher, 1995). As the authors explain, cultural authentication is a four stage process that "applies to specific articles and ensembles of dress identified as ethnic and considered indigenous when the users are not the makers or when the material used is not indigenous in origin" (Eicher, 1995, p. 140).

In a study about cut-thread and pulled-thread cloth, Eicher and Erekosima (1981) give an example of the stages of cultural authentication by showing how the Kalabari of Nigeria use imported cloth to meet social identification needs. First, an individual chooses imported and commercially-produced cloth. The individual changes the imported cloth by cutting certain threads and pulling them out of the weave. This new version of the cloth is assigned a name. In the next step, the individual wears the adapted imported cloth for ceremonial occasions, which shows that he or she belongs to a specific lineage. The person wears the cloth to indicate that he or she belongs not just to a restricted group, but also to a distinctive culture. The fourth and final stage of transformation occurs when

the Kalabari people wear this adapted cloth to display that they are part of a distinctive group.

In 1987, Jasper and Roach-Higgins introduced two modifications to the original concept of cultural authentication: *temporal authentication* and *temporo-cultural authentication*. Temporal authentication allows ethnic groups to use elements of their own cultural past and adopt these elements to their contemporary dress. For example, Roach, Eicher and Johnson (1995) used temporal authentication to compare dresses worn by American women during different decades of the 20th century. The 1920s and 1960s featured different versions of the low-waisted dress. Each decade's dress contained distinguishing elements. The 1920s was characterized by silk and wool crepe fabrics while the 1960s dresses were constructed from polyester and wool double-knit fabric. Roach, Eicher, and Johnson's study of the low-waisted dress shows how temporal authentication takes place when a society's contemporary dress integrates elements of its past dress.

Temporo-cultural authentication refers to a combination of cultural and temporal authentication, wherein a group can reach across time periods and cultural boundaries to adopt styles of dress as part of their contemporary society (Jasper & Roach-Higgins, 1987). For example, temporo-cultural authentication occurred in the United States during the 1920s as an exhibit of King Tut artifacts toured the country. Fashion designers were inspired by the Egyptian symbols and motifs and incorporated these into American fashion designs of the 1920s (Roach, Eicher, & Johnson, 1995). Since American fashion designers took design elements from a different culture as well as a different time period,

temporo-cultural authentication occurred. Likewise, investigating how variations of Plains, regional, and local dress contribute to the temporo-cultural authentication process used by North Carolina American Indian tribes aids in understanding the importance of dress in their modern cultural identity.

Cultural authentication can help explain the adoption of dress styles of one culture by another culture, and the adoption of dress by one group based on another's historic dress. Contemporary ceremonial dress of North Carolina Indians encapsulates both types of adoption as it establishes an "authentic" mode of cultural expression. Thus, in this dissertation, the concept of cultural authentication, in combination with the ideas of temporal authentication and temporo-cultural authentication, provides a framework for understanding the reasons behind the ceremonial dress worn by North Carolina American Indians today.

Scope and Significance

This study aids in understanding how dress is used to establish cultural identity among North Carolina American Indian tribes. The use of dress to shape and communicate cultural identity has not yet been established relative to Southeastern American Indians (Her Many Horses, 2007; Horse Capture & Horse Capture, 2001). Research that considers a variety of influences and reasons for ceremonial dress styles worn by contemporary North Carolina American Indians contributes to the study of how ethnic groups use dress to express themselves in modern society. As North Carolina American Indians seek to re-establish their historical roots and cultural identity, it is important that their dress practices and meanings are considered as essential to this

process.

The study of North Carolina American Indians and their dress provides much needed information about how and why ethnic groups use dress to establish cultural practices and how dress is used for identity purposes. In the United States, American Indian ceremonial practices include dances and dress that are based on outside influences as well as historical tribal evidence. Yet, the extent to which American Indian adoption of dress styles from other tribes makes for authentic tribal styles has yet to be investigated. Moreover, the extent to which North Carolina American Indians are aware of these influences within their powwow dress has not been examined. Aside from the basic need for documenting current cultural practices, this dissertation provides a deeper understanding of why North Carolina American Indians use certain styles of dress for ceremonial purposes and what these styles mean to them.

The study of North Carolina Indians and their dress is also important from the standpoint of regional history. Although much has been written about North Carolina tribes and their struggle for cultural identity, as well as the use of the powwow in communication of that identity, very little, if anything, has been written about the regalia worn at these powwows. Dress is a powerful tool for defining and communicating identity among all cultural groups (Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1995). This dissertation therefore provides a critical point of departure for investigating the role of dress and the expression of identity among today's North Carolina American Indians.

Organization of the Dissertation

Chapter I included an introduction to the topic. Background information on North Carolina American Indians was provided along with descriptions of powwows and the importance of dress. Discussion of the rationale for the study, as well as its scope and significance was provided. Chapter II presents a review of literature pertinent to the study. Chapter III discusses the methodological approach and data collection process. Chapters IV through VI include the analysis and interpretation of data. Chapter VII includes a discussion of the findings relative to the literature, and Chapter VIII provides reflection on the study and discussion of the study's implications.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

American Indian tribes of the Southeast have struggled to create a cultural identity in contemporary society (Lerch & Bullers, 1996). North Carolina tribes, such as the Waccamaw-Siouan, Occaneechi-Saponi, Haliwa-Saponi, and Lumbee have established ceremonial and community practices to help define what makes their particular tribal identities unique. Because their own ceremonial and community practices had been lost through early assimilation, in the past these tribes largely borrowed elements of their dance and dress from other American Indian tribes that were easily identifiable to non-Indians. More recently, however, North Carolina tribes have begun to seek out and identify their own local tribal history.

According to Oakley (2008), North Carolina Indian tribes became interested in uncovering their own history during the Native American renaissance of the late 1960s and early 1970s. At this time, North Carolina Indians also began to create outlets to display their culture (Oakley, 2005). According to Oakley (2005), this was done in two distinct ways: "First, they looked inward for the cultural traditions within their own communities that had survived in the late twentieth century" and "secondly, North Carolina Indians looked to broader pan-Indian cultural traditions, particularly those based on Plains culture" (pp. 101-102). As described in Chapter I, the powwow became one of the most popular types of public Pan-Indian ceremonies, wherein unique tribal practices

could be shared with the local Indian community as well as the public at large.

This chapter presents a review of literature with respect to North Carolina American Indian tribes and their use of traditional dress at powwows. As powwow dress is the result of a synthesis of a variety of factors and influences, the literature reviewed provides a foundation for understanding what dress means and how it is used for identity expression among North Carolina American Indians today. The concept of cultural authentication as a means to connect styles of ceremonial dress with such factors and influences is also explained.

As discussed in Chapter I, it is vital to investigate in-depth the historical background pertaining to North Carolina tribes, the use of the powwow in North Carolina American Indian cultural identity, and the role of dress as part of the modern day powwow. This chapter is organized according to these key areas and consists of the following sections: (1) the historical background of North Carolina American Indians, (2) powwows and the cultural identity of North Carolina American Indians, and (3) powwow regalia of North Carolina American Indians. The final section examines how cultural authentication was employed as a conceptual framework for this dissertation.

North Carolina American Indians: A Historical Background

Prior to initial European contact, 50,000 American Indians were thought to be living in what is now North Carolina (Oakley, 2005). Three language groups were represented by these early Indians. Algonkian speaking tribes like the Hatteras, Pamlicos, and Weapemeocs lived near the North Carolina coast. Siouan speaking tribes lived in the Piedmont and the Southeastern part of the state. The Enos, Saponis, Occaneechis, and

Waccamaws were Siouan speaking tribes. Iroquoian speaking tribes included the Cherokees, Tuscaroras, Meherrins, and Corees (Oakley, 2005). Beginning in the mid 1600s, all of these tribes encountered European settlers arriving in North Carolina. For the next several centuries, North Carolina American Indians were displaced due to wars against and with European-Americans, forced removal from ancestral lands, and diseases (Oakley, 2005). Most state recognized North Carolina tribes, including the Lumbee, Occaneechi-Saponi, Haliwa-Saponi, and the Waccamaw-Siouan, can trace their ancestry to the time of this displacement.

In the 1600s, most of the Occaneechi-Saponi lived in Virginia. In 1676, the tribe was decimated by European-Americans at the attack of Bacon's Rebellion, after which the Occaneechi-Saponi moved south to Hillsborough, North Carolina and formed a village (Goertzen, 2001). During the 18th century, the Occaneechi-Saponi moved again and eventually joined the Saponi confederacy, which was a group of tribes including the Saponi, Tutelo, Eno, and Occaneechi that banded together for protection. By the 1780s, the Occaneechi-Saponi had settled in Pleasant Grove, North Carolina where they still reside today (Goertzen, 2001).

Like the Occaneechi-Saponi, the Haliwa-Saponi descended from tribes that originally resided in Virginia. Due to warring with other tribes and lack of trade opportunities, the Haliwa-Saponi moved to the Catawba Nation in South Carolina in the 1720s. Within four years, the Haliwa-Saponi returned to Virginia, but by 1733, they requested to be allowed to move back to North Carolina, at which point they settled in Halifax and Warren Counties (Everett & Richardson, 2003).

Like the Occaneechi-Saponi and Haliwa-Saponi, the Waccamaw-Siouan of Southeastern North Carolina are descended from Siouan speaking tribes. However, instead of migrating from Virginia, the Waccamaw-Siouans descended from tribes further south. Tribes like the Waccamaw, Woccon, and Cape Fear lived on the Southeastern coastal plain of North Carolina (Lerch & Bullers, 1996). Today the Waccamaw-Siouan tribe lives in Bladen and Columbus Counties in Southeastern North Carolina.

As with other state recognized tribes, the Lumbee tribe is most likely descended from ancestral tribes throughout North Carolina. According to Lowery (2009), the Lumbee come from three regions: the Roanoke River area in Northeastern North Carolina, the Pamlico Sound and Outer Banks area, and the area to the south and west of present day Robeson County in North Carolina. All three of the language groups, Siouan, Algonkian, and Iroquoian, were represented by these three areas. Lowery (2010) also suggests that "in the first half of the eighteenth century, a group of families, composed of both Indians and non-Indians, coalesced in areas near Saponi and Tuscarora settlements. These families are the ancestors of the majority of today's Lumbee and Tuscarora tribal members" (p. 5). Most of the 50,000 members of the Lumbee tribe now live in Robeson County, North Carolina.

According to Oakley (2005), there are approximately 100,000 American Indians living in North Carolina today. Eight tribes are officially recognized by the state of North Carolina, and one tribe is federally recognized. The tribes include the federally recognized Eastern Band of the Cherokee with 13,000 members, the state recognized Lumbee tribe with approximately 50,000 members, the Sappony tribe with 400 members,

the Meherrins with 600 state recognized members, the Haliwa-Saponi with 3500 state recognized members, the state recognized Waccamaw-Siouans with 3000 members, the Coharies with 1200 state recognized members, and the Occaneechi-Saponi with 1000 state recognized members.

In today's society, North Carolina Indian tribes live exactly the way other ethnic groups or communities live. Their culture and heritage is not necessarily the focus of a regular day. In fact, many tribal members have had to leave the confines of the tribal community to go to school or to find a job. Consequently, North Carolina tribes, like other tribes around the country, have established cultural practices as a way to create tribal unity, such as ceremonies that feature singing, drum circles, and dancing (Neely, 1991). These practices bring tribal members together and allow one tribe to develop relationships with other tribes, as well as with members of the local community.

As with tribes in other areas of the country, North Carolina tribes shape their unique identities and become established in a community through locally and regionally significant cultural practices. Unfortunately, it is difficult for North Carolina tribes to draw from known local customs because, as Paterek (1994) states:

> By the mid-nineteenth century, many of the Southeastern tribes had been destroyed or dispersed by European colonization. Others had been removed, usually forcibly, to the Indian Territory, which later became Oklahoma. It was a tragic era, epitomized by the Cherokee "Trail of Tears." Uprooted from their traditional lands, the people took on new ways in their new homes. With the many tribes that came into the new territory, there was a fusing of cultures, and tribal identities in customs and dress were soon lost. (p. 6)

Consequently, American Indian tribes of North Carolina have spent the last few decades trying to reestablish their cultural identity. One way they have done so is through the integration of traditional dress and adornment styles into contemporary cultural practices. Contemporary ceremonial practices, such as powwows, provide American Indians with the opportunity to create culture through dress. Since powwows are not indigenous to North Carolina, it is important to investigate the historical origins of the powwow and the use of the powwow by the American Indians of North Carolina. Indeed, according to Oakley (2005), the powwow had become the "dominant symbol in the resurgence of Native American culture" by the late 20th century and is now the "primary method of publicly exhibiting Indianness" for the seven tribes recognized by the state of North Carolina (p. 117).

Powwows and the Cultural Identity of North Carolina American Indians

A powwow is a community gathering or festival hosted by one or more tribes. These festivals are used to celebrate both the unique culture of each tribe and the common culture of all tribes (Lerch, 2001). Ellis and Lassiter (2005) describe powwow culture as "a complicated amalgam of sources and practices reflecting both particular and generalized notions of identity" (p. viii). Starting at the beginning of the twentieth century, these sources and practices became the tools most often used by American Indians to connect past ceremonial practices with their cultural present and future.

As mentioned in Chapter I, American Indian tribes from all parts of the United States have struggled to reestablish their ethnic identity over the past century. Most lost their cultural beliefs and ways after being assimilated to varying degrees into European-

American society. Tribes who had first contact with the Europeans assimilated more deeply into white society and therefore lost their cultural identity very early on. Such tribes included those that were located in North Carolina. It also took longer for these tribes to adopt the practice of powwows as a part of their tribal identity. In contrast, tribes located in the Great Plains of the United States were not influenced by white culture until much later. Although they were eventually forced to live on reservations, these western tribes deliberately kept their traditional ceremonial practices in an attempt to avoid losing their culture entirely. Ultimately, Plains Indian tribes drew from these ceremonial practices to create the experience we now know as a "powwow" (Browner, 2004).

According to Fixico (2006), "powwows are social dances for all tribes … to gather and dance with competitions for traditional and fancy dancing" (p. 129). Most powwows begin dancing on Friday night and continue into Saturday or Sunday. Typically, there is a special area called the *dance arena* or *dance circle*. Visitors and spectators must sit outside the dance circle to watch the dancers perform. A group of drummers and singers sit around the drum circle that is situated next to the arena.

The powwow begins with the Grand Entry. Based on veteran status, age, dance classification, and gender, dancers line up and enter the arena to a drum circle song. After the Grand Entry, dances are called by the MC, or Master of Ceremonies, whose primary role is to control the pace of the dances and drumming and to keep order (Mattern, 1999). Contests allow dancers to compete with each other in the same dance category. Intertribal dances allow dancers from any tribe or dance category to dance. Because powwows are used to introduce and showcase American Indian identity to the outside world, visitors

are always welcome. Powwows are also meant to be a form of entertainment, thus it is typical to see vendors selling American Indian food and crafts.

Even though powwows are not indigenous to North Carolina tribes, they have become a symbol of their ethnic identity. Indian tribes in North Carolina began having powwows in the 1960s, with the Haliwa-Saponi hosting their first public powwow in 1967 (Everett & Richardson, 2003). The Waccamaw-Siouan presented their first powwow in 1970 (Lerch & Bullers, 1996). By the 1990s, powwows had become synonymous with American Indian culture in North Carolina. Today, the powwow schedule in North Carolina runs from Spring into Fall and a powwow can be found somewhere in the state almost every weekend (Ellis, 2003b). As Goertzen (2005) explains, "powwows are the main tool North Carolina Indians have for defining their collective identity to outsiders … Indians use powwows to encourage the surrounding world to respect both the nature and the boundaries of their communities" (p. 285). Like other tribes in North Carolina, the Waccamaw-Siouan introduced the powwow to their community to "revive their culture" (Lerch & Bullers, 1996, p. 395), using the powwow as an "uncontested" identifier. That is, not only are they identified as Waccamaw-Siouan, but they are also identified as Indian (Lerch, 1992a).

Participating in the powwow provides an individual the opportunity to distinguish him or herself as a member of the tribe. Everett and Richardson (2003) describe how the powwow is seen in relation to the modern world:

> One older Haliwa-Saponi dancer told us that since Indians are part of the contemporary world they often feel 'dragged in many directions,' and it is the

> powwow that ‘replenishes our souls and motivates us to be better stewards to our ancestors and be better preservers of the future.’ (p. 68)

Having experienced the loss of their cultural traditions and practices, a focus on restoring tribal identity for now and the future is a key motivation for the powwow. The main components of a powwow - the drums, the dance, and the dress - combine to reinforce tribal unity. Integral to the ceremony of the powwow and its dances, dress is a visible means of expressing this unity. As will be discussed in the next section, powwow ceremonial dress, or regalia, reflects shared tribal meanings, as well as meanings unique to the individual dancer and type of dance.

Evolution of Key Powwow Dance and Dress Styles

There are six distinctive dances performed at most modern powwows, and these dances can be traced back to the early powwows of the Plains. The six dances include *Men’s Traditional Dance*, *Women’s Traditional Dance*, *Men’s Grass Dance*, *Women’s Jingle Dress Dance*, *Women’s Fancy Shawl Dance*, and *Men’s Fancy Dance* (McCarl, 1996). Starting with the very first powwows, special types of regalia or garments and accessories were assigned to each specific dance. As George P. Horse Capture describes, this regalia reflects elements of traditional Plains Indians dress:

> The outfits are all individually constructed or handed down from one's ancestors and are a form of traditional art. A man's traditional attire is the most complex to fashion as it is of fur, beadwork, porcupine quill work, ribbon work, rawhide, weaving, and other materials. The most special items are the eagle feathers, a spiritual necessity, which require approval from the tribe and federal government to own and can never be sold. (Marra, 2009, p. 7)

Clearly, traditional dress is an integral element of powwow regalia. Most modern powwow regalia evolved from these early powwow styles and therefore reflect dress elements of different periods from the 1800s and early 1900s (Browner, 2004). As dress plays a central role in the powwow event, as well as individual dances, the following sections describe the key components of regalia most often worn at these powwow dances today.

Men's Traditional Dance

Of all the powwow styles, regalia of the Men's Traditional Dance has changed the least over the past one hundred years (McCarl, 1996). Elements of the Men's Traditional Dance regalia include the ribbon shirt, bustle, roach headpiece, and breastplate. Each will be described in turn below.

Ribbon Shirt

The ribbon shirt, which is worn under the bustle and breastplate, is typically made from brightly colored calico fabric. This shirt originated in the early nineteenth century when European traders exchanged the shirts for fur from the Indians (McCarl, 1996) (see Figure 5). Today, some modern ribbon shirts integrate the Sioux medicine wheel, represented through different colors and symbols. The wheel has two spokes, dividing it into four sections. The wheel itself represents the circle of life, with each of the four sections assigned a color representing an aspect of nature. East is yellow, with the tobacco plant as its symbol. West is the color black and has sage as its symbolic plant. South is red and represented by cedar. North is white with sweet grass as its symbol. Other colors displayed in the ribbon shirt might include turquoise, representing Mother

Earth, and light blue, symbolizing the sky (Horse Capture & Horse Capture, 2001). Figure 6 features a ribbon shirt made from cotton broadcloth and embroidered with two Sioux medicine wheels. Today, not all ribbon shirts feature medicine wheels, and they can be made in a variety of colors with appliqué or ribbons attached. Figures 7 and 8 show two modern powwow dancers wearing different types of ribbon shirts. Figure 7 features a shirt decorated with brightly colored ribbons, while Figure 8 illustrates a ribbon shirt made of patterned calico fabric. In the modern powwow, ribbon shirts are usually worn combined with breechcloths and cloth leggings or beaded or painted fringed buckskin leggings (McCarl, 1996). According to Browner (2004), Ribbon shirts can be traced back to the "dance clothing worn in the winter months of the late 1800s" (p. 51).

Figure 5. A 1898 photograph of White Face. An Ogallala Sioux wearing a calico trade shirt. *Note:* Courtesy, National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution (P20842).

Figure 6. A modern ribbon shirt. The shirt is decorated with Sioux medicine wheels and ribbons. *Note:* Courtesy, National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution (25.5183)

Figure 7. A ribbon shirt at a powwow in North Carolina in September 2011.

Figure 8. American Indian dancer wearing ribbon shirt. Worn at a powwow in North Carolina in September 2011.

Breastplate

The breastplate, another key element of the Men's Traditional Dance regalia, consists of hair pipes and can be made in a variety of configurations. Hair pipes were originally long, tubular beads made from the central column of the conch shell (Koch, 1977). The conch shells were probably traded to the Plains Indians by coastal Indians. By the seventeenth century, hair pipes were being made by European-Americans for trade with the Indians. During this time, the pipes were made of glass, but by the eighteenth century they were being made of silver or brass. Metal versions proved unpopular because of the cost, thus by the late eighteenth century hair pipes were being

manufactured from seashells. The Plains Indians received these shell hair pipes in trade by the early 1800s.

Originally hair pipes were worn as hair or ear decorations, or simply as jewelry, as depicted in Figure 9 (Koch, 1977). However, hair pipes eventually became incorporated into a breastplate (see Figure 10). The hair pipe breastplate probably spread from the Comanche tribe, who likely invented it around 1850, to the Western Plains Indians by 1870 (Koch, 1977). These breastplates are thought to have been worn to protect the warrior's chest and stomach during battle. Hair pipe breastplates became even more popular when they began to be made of bone, and usually out of buffalo rib bone (see Figure 10) (McCarl, 1996).

The breastplate has evolved into three basic styles seen at modern powwows. The first style includes two vertical rows of long hair pipes separated by a vertical row of short hair pipes, as seen in Figure 11. The second style has three rows of long hair pipes and the third style has two rows of long hair pipes, separated by brass beads (Koch, 1977). Modern hair pipe breastplates are made of plastic (Koch, 1977).

Figure 9. An 1831 George Catlin painting. An American Indian wearing hair pipes in the hair. *Note:* Copyright 2002 by www.georgecatlin.org.

Figure 10. An 1898 photograph of Sioux Chief Hollow Horn Bear. He is wearing a bone breastplate. *Note:* Courtesy, National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution (P09865).

Figure 11. A Traditional dancer wearing a breastplate. Worn at the Frank Liske Powwow in Concord, North Carolina.

Roach Headdress

Two of the most recognizable aspects of modern Men's Traditional Dance regalia are the roach headdress and the bustle. As will be discussed later, the bustle has its origins in the Omaha Dance of the nineteenth century (Powers, 1994). The roach headdress, which received its name because of its resemblance to a horse's roached mane, has origins that are less clear. According to Koch (1977), the roach headdress was uncommon

to Plains Indians until the middle of the 1800s. When the roach arrived on the Plains, it was adopted by the Omaha dancer. However, Browner (2004) argues that it was worn before the Omaha Dance was established:

> Museum specimens of roaches from the Great Lakes area date from 1800. Because the roach was also part of the regalia of the Kit Fox Society, it was undoubtedly part of Lakota warriors' regalia before the coming of the Omaha Dance. (p. 23)

During the early to mid 1800s, George Catlin observed the wearing of roaches by the Blackfoot, Pawnee, Osage, and Fox Indian tribes. He described crests of hair that were decorated with horsehair and deer tails dyed red (Koch, 1977). Catlin also explained that the tribes used porcupine hair, moose mane, turkey beard, and skunk hair attached to a carved bone base to construct the roach headdress (see Figures 12 & 13) (Koch, 1977).

Regardless of its origins, the roach headdress of today has a specific structure and design. Modern roaches are usually made from stiff porcupine guard hair and deer hair attached to a base to create the "mane" of the roach. Typically, there are two eagle tail or wing feathers in the center of the roach. Roach "spreaders" are used to support the attachment of plume holders. These plume holders were originally made of bone, but now may be made from plastic, metal, or wood. Plume holders attach to the spreader vertically and are used to hold feathers at the center of the roach (Koch, 1977). Sometimes the roach incorporates spinners, which allow the feathers to move more freely during the dance (see Figure 14 & 15) (McCarl, 1996).

Figure 12. Shon-ta-yi-ga wearing a roach headdress in 1844. *Note:* From Smithsonian American Art Museum and the Renwick Gallery. Copyright by the Smithsonian Institution.

Figure 13. 1900 Oglala Lakota roach headdress from South Dakota. *Note:* Courtesy, National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution (20/3841).

Figure 14. Modern roach headdress with a roach spreader. Spinners are attached to the two plume holders in the back of roach.

Figure 15. Roach headdresses. Worn at the July 4th powwow in Cherokee, North Carolina, 2009.

Traditional Bustle

One of the largest components of the Men's Traditional Dance regalia in terms of scale is the bustle. Bustles generally consist of a disk of eagle feathers, with the longest feathers at the top of the disk and the tail feathers at the bottom. Since the use of eagle feathers is usually regulated by each tribe and the federal government, some modern bustles may also include feathers from other large birds.

The bustle is tied around the waist and displayed on the wearer's back (McCarl, 1996). Bustles originated from the crow belt worn by Plains Indians in the 1800s. White traders called the crow belt a "bustle" because of its resemblance to the bustles worn by fashionable American women (Koch, 1977). Paintings by George Catlin, such as Figure 16, show Plains Indians wearing crow belts in the early 1830s (Browner, 2004).

Crow belts or "the Crow" were usually worn by honored warriors and named for the bird (Koch, 1977). Representing the battlefield, the belt was named after the bird with the sharpest sense of smell and who arrived at the battlefield before any other birds. Buzzards, magpies, and eagles might also have been used in the crow belt because these birds arrived at the battlefield second, third, and fourth after the crow. Use of eagle feathers in the bustle was symbolic of thunder, power, and war. Two feather staffs tipped with red paint would be positioned upright at the top of the crow belt. These staffs represented warriors killed in battle and the arrows that were used to kill them. The left staff was symbolic of an enemy and the right was a friend. Figure 17 shows two American Indians wearing crow belts that feature the two upright feather staffs and two feather pendants hanging from the crow feathers.

Originally the crow belt encompassed the entire skin as well as feathers of the crow or eagle. Worn at the back, it was secured by a belt of buckskin that held the stuffed crow or eagle in place. Two pendants hung down the back of the crow belt. These pendants were reminiscent of the trail of a war bonnet (Koch, 1977). By 1890, the bustle had evolved away from featuring an entire bird to featuring a rosette of circles and feathers in the center with a mirror as the focal point. The pendants evolved into two trailers, or streamers, flowing below the bustle. Trailers were initially made from buckskin and then blue Stroud fabric, which had a white selvage that was cut into a zig zag pattern at the bottom of the trailer. Eagle feathers were sometimes attached to the trailer. Modern bustle trailers are simpler in overall design, but may include beaded rosettes and feathers attached along the trailer (Koch, 1977). Figure 18 shows a modern Traditional Dance bustle made of eagle feathers with a rosette in the center and green fabric trailers hanging down from the bustle.

Figure 16. Pasheepaho, a chief of the Sac & Fox tribe. He is wearing a crow belt during a treaty signing; drawn by George Catlin in 1833. *Note:* From *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indians*. (p. 289), by George Catlin, 1944, New York: Wiley and Putnam.

Figure 17. Two Omaha Dancers wearing a crow belt in 1907. *Note:* From National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution (BAE GN 4030).

Figure 18. A powwow participant wears a traditional bustle. It includes a center rosette and green fabric trailers. Worn at the Frank Liske Powwow in Concord, North Carolina August 2011.

Men's Fancy Dance

Unlike the Traditional Dance, Men's Fancy Dance is a more recent powwow invention. The dance originated in the late 1800s in western Oklahoma, where it was called the Crow Dance and was thought to have introduced the Crow belt or bustle. The popularity of the Fancy Dance increased as warrior societies disappeared from Plains Indian culture and Wild West shows began to become popular (Ellis, 2003a; Johnston & Nahanee, 2003). As Plains Indians performed in these Wild West shows, they were asked

to wear wilder and more elaborate dance regalia that included brighter colors (McCarl, 1996). Often, it was the American Indian World War I veterans who took up the dance after returning from the war.

By the 1950s, the Fancy Dance moved from Oklahoma to the Northern Plains and the Great Lakes regions (Johnston & Nahanee, 2003). As powwows became more integral to American Indian culture, the Fancy Dance became a regular part of the dance offerings at powwows. Today modern Fancy Dancers wear colorful and exaggerated bustles and headdresses.

The elaborate regalia of Fancy Dancers typically consists of two large u-shaped back bustles, one positioned at the middle of the shoulders and one at the lower back. Small bustles, or Catawbas, are worn on each shoulder, as seen in Figure 19 (Browner, 2004). Modern Fancy Dancer bustles are usually made from hawk, turkey, or eagle feathers and decorated with hackles that are attached at the end of each feather. These hackles can be from pheasant, chicken, or other fowl, dyed bright colors and tied together in bundles. These bundles can be decorated with ribbon or yarn. Matching beaded rosettes are placed in the center of the back bustles and the shoulder bustles (McCarl, 1996). Figure 20 features two Fancy Dancers wearing two u-shaped bustles decorated with brightly dyed feathers. Fabric hackles hang down from each of the u-shaped bustles and ribbon or tape decorates each feather holder on the bustle.

Fancy Dancers usually complete their regalia with “goats” which are lower leg coverings made of angora or sheep hair. “Goats” cover the area from upper ankle to just below the dancer’s knee. Most Fancy Dancers do not wear traditional American Indian

footwear, instead they wear brightly colored swim shoes and athletic socks (Axtmann, 2001).

Figure 19. Fancy dancers wearing arm bustles. Taken at the Haliwa-Saponi Powwow in April 2009.

Figure 20. Fancy dancers. Worn at the July 4th powwow in Cherokee, North Carolina, 2009.

Men's Grass Dance

Another dance that is a constant at powwows is the Men's Grass Dance. The Grass Dance is one of the oldest dances performed at Plains Indian powwows. It was originally called the "Omaha Dance" because the Omaha tribe passed the dance on to the Lakota or Sioux tribe (Paterek, 1994). Among the Omaha, the Grass Dance was meant to be performed by warrior societies and was called the War Dance. In the late 1800s, the dance became available to all members of a tribe, not just the warrior society (Johnston & Nahanee, 2003).

There are varying opinions as to how the dance received the name "Grass Dance." One thought is that it resulted from the dancers of the early 1900s who wore braided sweet grass around their waists. In the dance's original form, these "grasses" would have actually been scalps that were removed from enemies in battle (Paterek, 1994). In modern regalia, the scalps, or grasses, are represented by fringe.

Another theory as to the origin of the dance lies in the movements of the dance itself. Grass Dancers were typically the first to enter the dance circle to flatten the grass and prepare the area for dancing. In Browner (2004), Norma Rendon describes her grandfather's Oglala version of the origin of the Grass Dance:

> The Grass Dance originated way back. The Lakota, a long time ago they had these men who would wear a row of grass around their head, around their arms, around their ankles, and right under their knees. Before they would go to a battle or a hunt, these men would always be up front. And they would creep down in with the grass and blend right in with the grass. They were also the first ones to go into the dance. As they went into the dance arena before the People they would stomp down the grass with their feet (pp. 51 – 52).

Figure 21 shows a group of American Indians in 1890 wearing Grass Dance dress. The men wear breechcloths and have grass tied around their legs and ankles.

At powwows today, the Grass Dancers are still most often the first to enter the dance area. However, their performance is purely ceremonial, in that they symbolically "stomp" the grass down for the dancers to come. The modern Grass Dancer's regalia features chains of fringe, yarn, or ribbon that is meant to mimic the waving of prairie grass when it moves (Browner, 2004; McCarl, 1996). Grass Dancers also wear breechcloths made from brightly colored fabric. The breechcloth will often have fringe attached and be decorated with different colors. The dancer often wears a matching geometric shaped yoke decorated with more fringe (Johnston & Nahanee, 2003; McCarl, 1996). Fringe or long haired fur is also worn around the dancer's ankles to resemble the fetlocks of a horse. Bells are worn over the legs above the "fetlocks" or right below the knees (Axtmann, 2001; McCarl, 1996). Grass Dancers complete their regalia with a roach headdress. The roach headdress of the grass dancer is usually dyed a bright color with eagle fluffs attached to wires that make the roach move or "rock" (Axtmann, 2001; Johnston & Nahanee, 2003). Figure 22 illustrates a Grass Dancer wearing brightly colored regalia with long fringe hanging from the breechcloth, yoke, and ankles. The Grass Dancer also wears a roach headdress that features yellow fluffs sticking out from the middle of the roach.

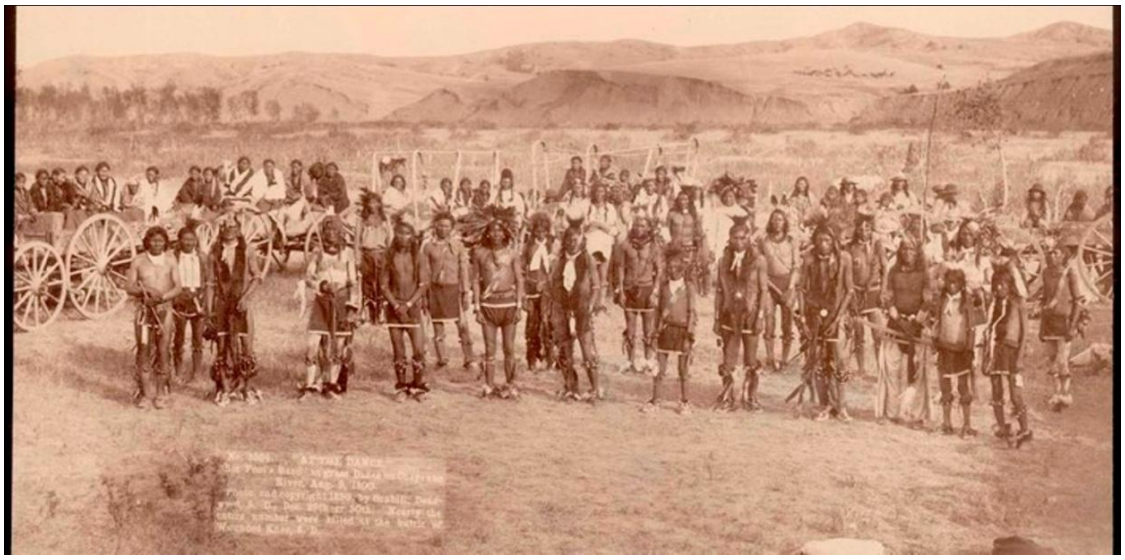

Figure 21. Minneconjou Lakota tribe. At a Grass Dance on Cheyenne River in 1890. *Note:* Courtesy, National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution (P07000).

Figure 22. A Grass dancer in the April 2009 Haliwa-Saponi powwow.

Regardless of the specific dance, modern men's powwow regalia is a synthesis of varying styles from different historic periods. Over time, American Indians have integrated these styles together to create regalia that evokes aspects of the past and reminds them of their collective heritage. The next section examines the various influences on modern powwow dress styles.

Influences on Modern Powwow Regalia

Since the powwow itself originated from the Indians of the Plains, it is logical to assume that powwow dress also originated from this area. Based on historical evidence of men's dance components, such as bustles and breastplates, this can be known. However, as discussed in this section, at North Carolina powwows, dress worn for the specific dances is influenced by additional sources.

Pan-Indianism and Powwow Regalia

As North Carolina tribes rediscovered and "reinvented" their cultural traditions, powwows were established as the means to introduce these traditions to the broader community of Indians as well as non-Indians. Due to the lack of information available about North Carolina historic tribal dress, they primarily adopted Plains Indian traditional clothing for powwow regalia (Lerch, 1992a). However, North Carolina American Indian tribes are not the only ones who integrate Plains Indians dress into their powwow regalia. Plains Indian customs, including dress, are often seen as the basis of what some refer to as a Pan-Indian influence.

According to Lerch and Bullers (1996), Pan-Indianism is defined as "cultural patterns that cut across traditional tribal boundaries to unite people in a wider, regional,

or national identity" (p. 390). The cultural patterns of Pan-Indianism were often used by Indian tribes seeking to introduce their culture and heritage to non-Indians in the community.

Pan-Indianism, as a movement, has helped to unite American Indian tribes around the country. In the 1950s, Robert K. Thomas (as cited in Lerch, 2004) observed Pan-Indianism in Oklahoma. He defined it as:

> The expression of a new identity and the institutions and symbols which are both an expression of that new identity and a fostering of it. It is the attempt to create a new ethnic group, the American Indian; it is also a vital social movement which is forever changing and growing. (p. 117)

American Indian tribes from all areas of the United States have been using Pan-Indian symbols and styles of dress in their powwows to establish the new ethnic group referred to by Thomas. Lerch (2001) describes how the Waccamaw-Siouan of North Carolina have dance regalia that "conforms to a pan-Indian style closely associated with Plains Indian culture" (p. 146). Specifically, designs, symbols, and patterns have been traced back to Plains Indian tribal culture (Lerch & Bullers, 1996), in that "Male dancers wear choker necklaces, bone breastplates, breechcloths and leggings, knee bands with bells, and angora anklets and moccasins" (Lerch, 2001, pp. 146-147). Likewise, the Waccamaw-Siouan women's regalia is usually made from tan, white, or brown suede. The dress is decorated with colorful wooden beads attached to fringe that hangs down the front at the bust. Fringe may also hang down from the hem, sleeves, and back. Women dancers might also carry a shawl decorated with beads, dried corn, feathers, bells, and shells (Lerch, 2001).

The same components that can be seen in North Carolina tribal regalia are also seen in powwows around the country, largely due to the Pan-Indian aspect of the dress. Indeed, Pan-Indian symbols originating with Plains Indian culture are so intertwined with local North Carolina tribal practices that they now "flow in and out of each other" (Lerch, 1992a, p. 33). By relying on Pan-Indianism, North Carolina tribes were gradually able to introduce themselves to others within the community. Like other tribes, these North Carolina tribes adopted Pan-Indianism as a mechanism to not only create tribal unity, but to present a familiar face to the non-Indians who were becoming interested in all things "Indian."

As mentioned in Chapter I, the image of the American Indian recognized by most non-Indians is based on the Great Plains Indian of the nineteenth century, whose popularity was intensified by the abundance of information available about this small group of Indians (Oakley, 2005). During the nineteenth century, many photographers and ethnographers studied the Indians of the Plains, thereby establishing a fairly in-depth historical record (Paterek, 1994). The information from these early studies is used by today's American Indians for identification purposes. Although it is easier for Plains Indians to justify the use of their own historical dress in their powwows today, tribes like those in North Carolina use Plains Indian dress to connect with outsiders. In other words, if tribes are recognizable as "Indians," then non-Indians in the community will be more likely to consider them to be real "Indians." Indeed, Goertzen (2005) suggests that one reason for the use of Plains Indian regalia in North Carolina is because "dance outfits of Plains derivation are spectacular and familiar" (p. 285). Lerch (1992) echoes Goertzen's

idea of familiarity, stating that, "Traced to Plains Indian culture by anthropologists and Indians alike, powwow participants know the impact that their feathers, beads, and breastplates have on their audience" (p. 27). Both Indians and non-Indians share a mental image of the Indian based on that of the Plains, with feathers, body paint, and moccasins, thus the use of these outfits in North Carolina powwows is designed to call attention to the "Indianness" of the local tribes.

Historical Plains Indian dress was established as the regalia at powwows all over the United States, including North Carolina, by the late 1960s and early 1970s. This dress became part of each tribe's cultural identity. However, by the 1990s, many North Carolina tribes had begun to access information about their own tribal history. Consequently, they started to create regalia based more on local traditional dress influences. However, most tribes integrated these elements into their regalia gradually, so as not to confuse non-Indians who were used to seeing the more common Pan-Indian styles of Plains Indian dress.

North Carolina Indians and Local Historical Dress

North Carolina tribes have relied largely on symbols of Pan-Indianism and Plains Indian culture to establish their identity, however, some of these tribes are beginning to explore other ways to integrate more regional influences (Goertzen, 2005). In the 1990s, evidence began to surface indicating that some North Carolina tribes are adopting regalia based on historical information available about Southeastern Indians, Woodlands Indians, and Siouan Indians. As described earlier, today's Siouan Indians are the descendants of Indians from such tribes as the Waccamaw, Cape Fear, Eno, Tutelo, and Saponi who lived

in North Carolina before European contact (Lerch, 2004).

In one of the few studies to examine dress of North Carolina American Indians, Everett and Richardson (2003) offer an account of local or regional historical dress influence on North Carolina Indians. The authors suggest that the first powwow held by the Haliwa-Saponi tribe of North Carolina was actually based on a model from Virginia tribes and not from the Plains Indians, and included styles of dress worn by the Virginia tribes. For instance, the Haliwa-Saponi wore puckered deerskin moccasins, leather hunting shirts, and turkey tail headdresses (Everett & Richardson, 2003). It is likely that the moccasin style borrowed from the Virginia tribe by the Haliwa-Saponi was the "swamp moccasin." The swamp moccasin was worn by tribes all over the Southeast. Gathered around the foot like a pouch, the moccasin was laced at the toe and at the back of the shoe, and the laces were then tied around the ankle. A piece of leather was sewn to the bottom of the moccasin for added thickness and protection. Similarly, headdresses were not worn extensively in the Southeast during the pre-contact period. However, the Powhatan tribe of Virginia fashioned feathered head pieces from hawks and vultures. It is possible that this is the origin of the turkey-tail headdresses adopted by the Haliwa-Saponi (Paterek, 1994).

As the Haliwa-Saponi powwows continued over time, more aspects of the Plains Indian dress and local historic dress have been added to the regalia (Everett & Richardson, 2003). For example, Goertzen (2005) writes, "In the past decade, a number of North Carolina Indians have opted for regional historic garb, involving relatively few feathers, and often with cloth replacing leather" (p. 285). Goertzen (2005) points out that

John Jeffries, a member of the Occaneechi-Saponi tribe and powwow dancer, has placed one of his older Plains Indian influenced regalia sets in a museum. He now wears regalia inspired more by the local Woodlands Indian dress. Currently, it is difficult to accurately establish how the local tribal styles have influenced powwow regalia worn by North Carolina tribes, in contrast to the data available about the influence of Plains Indian historical dress and Plains Indian powwow regalia. As North Carolina Indian tribes collect and document more about their cultural history, it is likely that these tribes will continue to integrate influences specific to the Southeast versus the Plains. Because little research exists that examines the various influences on North Carolina American Indian dress, this dissertation makes a significant contribution to the literature, as it considers the influences of historic North Carolina and Southeastern Indian styles on ceremonial dress worn today.

Cultural Authentication and Cultural Identity

As North Carolina Indians seek to establish traditions as their own, it is important to examine the implications of "borrowing" practices from other tribes for interpreting these traditions. Eicher and Erekosima (1980) suggest that cultural authentication can be used to identify how and why ethnic groups "borrow" from other groups and how and why this "borrowing" becomes part of an ethnic group's traditional practice (Eicher, 1995). According to Jasper and Roach-Higgins (1987), cultural authentication:

> Can identify the general process whereby elements of dress of one culture are incorporated into the dress of another … outcomes of this process [are] varying, according to how elements of dress from the source culture and the receiving culture merge. At the simplest level of authentication one cultural group may simply select an item of dress from another cultural group and use the item in

> much the same way … dress is seldom copied exactly from one cultural group to the next-- instead it is transformed in form and meaning by the adopting cultural group so that it is separated from its old setting and stands as a unique part of its new. (p. 3)

As a concept, cultural authentication can be applied to the study of North Carolina American Indian powwow dress, in as much as the variety and scope of its influences are reflected in modern styles.

Cultural authentication was introduced after Eicher and Erekosima addressed the problem of "social processes" involved in the "mixtures in dress" described by Roach and Musa in 1980 (Jasper & Roach-Higgins, 1987, p. 3). Roach and Musa felt that the "mixture" of Western and non-Western dress was an overlooked topic in research on dress. To address this problem, Erekosima and Eicher developed the concept of "Cultural Authentication" to describe how elements from one culture are adopted by another. According to Eicher and Erekosima (1980), "The concept of cultural authentication has implications for solving the problem of distinguishing Western from non-Western dress" (p. 83).

According to Eicher and Erekosima (1981) cultural authentication consists of four steps that are used to define how one culture adopts another culture's dress: *selection, characterization, incorporation,* and *transformation*. *Selection* occurs when an object, product, or cultural practice from an external source is chosen by another culture. *Characterization* occurs when the object, product, or practice is adopted by the culture. That is, the new culture names the object, product, or practice, and changes its use. *Incorporation* occurs when the object, product, or practice is adopted by the culture.

Through adoption, the culture creates a new symbolic meaning and the object, product, or practice is identified with the adopting culture. *Transformation* occurs when the object, product, or practice that has been adopted is physically altered or changed. According to the theory, the four concepts or processes should occur in a fixed, consecutive order (Lynch & Strauss, 2007).

In an article about Kalabari cut and pulled thread cloth, Eicher and Erekosima (1981) provide an example of how cultural authentication can be seen through the use of textiles. The Kalabari people inhabit "the delta at the southern tip of Nigeria. The Kalabari are spread out over a number of other urban as well as rural settlements, including Abonnema, Bakana, Sangama, Teinma, Tombia, Soku, and Degema" (Eicher & Erekosima, 1980, p. 48). The Kalabari use "imported lightweight gingham and madras cotton cloths, commonly called 'George' in many parts of southern Nigeria and 'injiri' by the Kalabari," to meet social identification needs (Eicher & Erekosima, 1980, p. 48). They do this by using the gingham and madras cloth to design new cloth by cutting and pulling threads from the weave. Thus, among the Kalabari, the process of cultural authentication occurs when: (1) *selection*, the madras or gingham cloth is used as it exists when it is traded to the Kalabari, (2) c*haracterization*, the "naming" of the imported gingham cloth (calling it George or injiri) makes it more easily "visible," (3) *incorporation*, the imported gingham cloth or George is "owned" by a particular group, such as a family or community, (4) *transformation*, a modified cloth is created when the Kalabari take the George cloth and cut or pull the threads from it to make it unique (Eicher & Erekosima, 1981). The cultural authentication process used by the Kalabari

follows the consecutive fixed order of stages suggested by Eicher and Erekosima as seen in Figure 23.

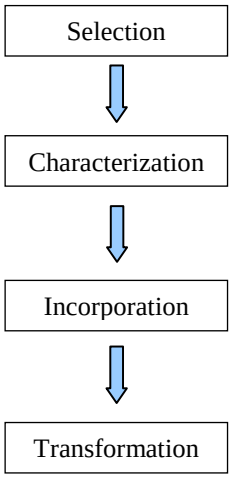

Figure 23. Cultural Authentication Model. Adapted from "Kalabari Cut-Thread and Pulled-Thread Cloth," by J. Eicher and T. Erekosima, 1981, *African Arts, 14*, p. 50.

Cultural Authentication as a Theoretical Framework

Mead and Pedersen (1995) identified cultural authentication as a middle-range theory. Middle-range theories are limited in concept and in scope, in that these theories are specific enough to be proven or disproven but broad enough to be useful for other researchers or practitioners (Walker & Avant, 1995). In contrast to comprehensive theories, which are abstract and offer little in the way of comparable studies, middle-range theories can provide verification (Bourgeois, 1979). That is, middle-range theories supply practical formulations that can be tested by researchers. Based on Eicher and Erekosima's original Kalabari cut and pulled thread cloth study, cultural authentication is a theory that can be tested because cultural authentication describes practical concepts and can be used in a broader context if needed. As a middle-range theory, cultural

authentication can be used to define how one group adopts an aspect of another group's culture, with specific examples that can be related to wider issues of dress and culture.

Cultural authentication can only be determined after research has been done and data have been analyzed, therefore cultural authentication should be considered an inductive theory. The inductive approach to theory "stresses the formal or informal accumulation of data, which may lead to a tentative theory" (Zaltman, Lemasters, & Heffring, 1982, p. 98). Zaltman, Lemasters, and Heffring (1982) identified the steps involved in inductive research: (1) select a phenomenon and list all of the characteristics of the phenomenon, (2) measure all of the characteristics of the phenomenon in a variety of situations (as many as possible), (3) analyze the resulting data carefully to determine if there are any systematic patterns among the data "worthy" of further attention, and (4) once significant patterns have been found in the data, formalization of these patterns as theoretical statements constitutes the "laws" of nature (p. 99).

Eicher and Erekosima's study of Kalabari dress followed the pattern of inductive theory because their research design involved "ethnographic fieldwork by a team of two researchers, one an 'outsider' and one an 'insider,' using the techniques of observation and participant observation respectively, field photographs, and interviews" (Eicher & Erekosima, 1980, p. 83). After using observations, interviews, and photographs to study the phenomenon of Kalabari cut and pulled-thread cloth, the authors were able to establish a pattern in the data. This pattern helped them to identify the concepts of cultural authentication. That is, by using an inductive research framework, Eicher and Erekosima first characterized the phenomenon they planned to study, they then gathered

information about the phenomenon which was then analyzed, and a pattern generalization was created that resulted in a theoretical statement. In the end, the theory of cultural authentication resulted from Eicher and Erekosima's use of inductive research methods.

Application of the Framework

The original conceptual model of cultural authentication designed by Eicher and Erekosima (1980) suggests that one culture could select another culture's dress, characterize the dress by naming it, incorporate the dress by wearing it for identification, and transform the dress by altering or modifying it in some way. Several other researchers have since used Eicher and Erekosima's model to study dress and culture, and particularly to differentiate western from non-western dress. For example, Pannabecker applied cultural authentication in a study of the use of European-produced ribbon by American Indians. Pannabecker (1988) described cultural authentication as "a useful framework for analyzing data on cultural transfer regardless of cultural or temporal dimensions" (p. 55). Mead and Pedersen (1995) used cultural authentication to study the influences of West Africa on apparel and textiles in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s. Kim and DeLong (1992) applied cultural authentication to examine the influence of Sino-Japanism on western women's dress. In 1997, Arthur applied cultural authentication theory to the study of the Hawaiian holokū, finding that "Eicher and Erekosima's model of authentication is useful for material culture analysis, particularly with regard to dress" (p. 137). These studies provide insight into the application of cultural authentication as a framework to study dress across cultures and time periods.

Like Eicher and Erekosima, researchers have found that the theory of cultural authentication is a useful framework, however, not all agree that the original model is most appropriate. This is due to the assumption of the original model that the four stages of cultural authentication should be sequential. In other words, that selection should always be followed by characterization, which is followed by incorporation, and that transformation should always be the final stage. While Eicher and Erekosima's original model provided a new way of looking at the problems related to "mixtures in dress," later studies revealed that the order of the stages may in fact differ depending on culture and time period.

In Pannabecker's (1988) study of the assimilation of European ribbon into the culture of Great Lakes American Indian tribes, cultural authentication was used as a "test of its utility as a cross-cultural theoretical construct" (p. 55). According to the author, cultural authentication occurred when the Indian tribes of the Great Lakes first used *selection* to choose ribbon through trade, and then used *transformation* to create modifications to the ribbon. The Indian tribes then used *incorporation* when they identified the ribbon as being indigenous or belonging to their tribe. The *characterization* stage was not evident because the Indian tribes did not symbolically name the ribbon (Pannabecker, 1988) (see Figure 24). Although *characterization* was not a stage in this instance, Pannabecker (1988) confirmed that cultural authentication is a valid theory in relation to dress and culture, in that cultural authentication was "affirmed as a means to provide a structure for the inquiry into and the interpretation of the transfer of cultural phenomena such as textiles and clothing" (p. 55).

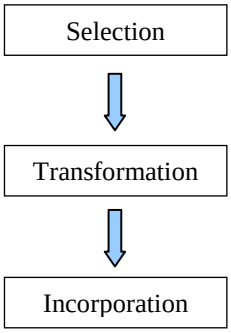

Figure 24. Pannabecker Cultural Authentication Model. Adapted from "The Cultural Authentication of Ribbon: Use and Test of a Concept," by R. Pannabecker, 1988, *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal, 7*(1), p. 55.

Although cultural authentication was applicable to identifying the process of dress development in Pannabecker's (1988) study, its use prompted several questions, such as: *Is the naming of non-native items a process of central African cultures and not universal? Are there other ways in which characterization can take place? And are the four levels of analysis necessarily progressive?* (p. 56).

These questions were expounded on by a study of West African textile influences on dress in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s by Mead and Pedersen (1995). The authors found that "the use of West African apparel textiles in fashionable U.S. garments is an example of *selection*, the first stage of cultural authentication" (p. 445). The other three stages were not as clear. For example, no obvious evidence existed for *characterization* or *incorporation*. Mead and Pedersen (1995) suggest that *transformation* might have occurred to the extent that "Contemporary U.S. styles made from U.S. textiles inspired by West African textiles are examples of physical alterations of the idea of the original object, the West African textile" (p. 446). Figure 25 illustrates how cultural authentication applied in Mead and Pedersen's study.

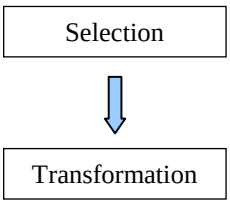

Figure 25. Mead and Pedersen Cultural Authentication Model. Adapted from "West African Textiles Depicted in Selected Magazines from 1960 to 1979: Application of Cultural Authentication," by P. Mead and E. Pedersen, 1995, *Family and Consumer Sciences Research Journal, 23*(4), p. 446.

In "Cultural Authentication Refined: The Case of the Hawaiian Holokū," Arthur (1997) used cultural authentication to analyze how the Hawaiian holokū, a loose fitting dress originally introduced to Hawaiians by missionaries in the 1820s, was adopted as non-western dress from western dress. Each of the four stages of cultural authentication concepts occurred with respect to holokū development. However, the author found that they did not occur in the order proposed by Eicher and Erekosima. According to Arthur, the cultural authentication of the holokū began with *selection,* was followed by *transformation* and *incorporation,* and ended with *characterization*. Specifically, *selection* occurred in the 1820s when the holokū was adopted and worn by Hawaiians. This was followed by *transformation,* when the form of the dress was changed. Worn originally by missionaries, the dress lacked a waist and was very loose fitting. By 1838, almost all Hawaiian women had adopted the holokū, thus *incorporation* had taken place. *Characterization* occurred as the holokū became an integral part of Hawaiian dress and specifically when it was named the "holokū" in 1865. Today, the holokū has evolved into a form fitting, long gown with a train. Arthur's study confirms the four stages, but as

shown in Figure 26, these stages did not occur in the order established by Eicher and Erekosima (Arthur, 1997).

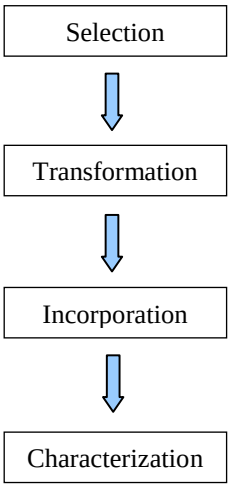

Figure 26. Arthur Cultural Authentication Model. Adapted from "Cultural Authentication Refined: The Case of the Hawaiian Holokū," by L. Arthur, 1997, *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal*, *15*(3), p. 131.

In a more recent study on Hawaiian quilts, Arthur (2011) again applied cultural authentication as a conceptual model. According to Arthur (2011), a kind of appliqué quilt was developed in Hawaii in the nineteenth century. This type of quilt combined both American and Polynesian influences. In this particular study, the author found the quilts were first transformed into authentic Hawaiian quilts when western motifs were introduced into traditional Hawaiian sewing. *Incorporation* took place in the early nineteenth century when Hawaiian women became the only group to make appliqué quilts featuring the Hawaiian flag. *Characterization* took place when the appliqué quilts were named "kapa apana" by the Hawaiians (Arthur, 2011). *Selection* did not occur in this instance (see Figure 27). Arthur suggests that this is due to the fact that the quilts

were transformed from processes and materials that were readily available in the culture. Thus they were transforming the materials into quilts rather than creating quilts as a new object.

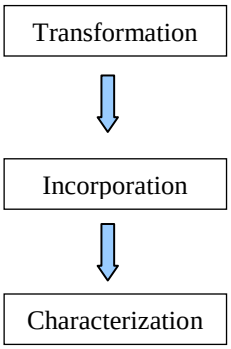

Figure 27. 2011 Cultural Authentication Model. Adapted from "Cultural Authentication of Hawaiian Quilting in the Early 19th Century," by L. Arthur, 2011, *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal, 29*(2), pp. 114-115.

Studies such as those done by Mead and Pedersen, Arthur, and Pannabecker affirmed that Eicher and Erekosima's original theoretical framework is "applicable to the study of cultural influence on textile design" (Mead & Pedersen, 1995, p. 431). According to Mead and Pedersen (1995), selection is imperative to the process of cultural authentication. However, based on Arthur's latest study, it may not be necessary after all. That is, after initial adoption, the other three cultural authentication stages may or may not occur, and the stages might become more useful if order is instead established through specific cultural, temporal, and spatial criteria. A fixed, consecutive order of *selection*, *characterization*, *incorporation*, and *transformation* may not be necessary to determine the cultural authentication of an object or practice (Arthur, 2011). Figure 28 presents a theoretical model of cultural authentication that incorporates the idea that, after

selection, any of the three stages might occur and in any given order based on the context of the adopted object or practice.

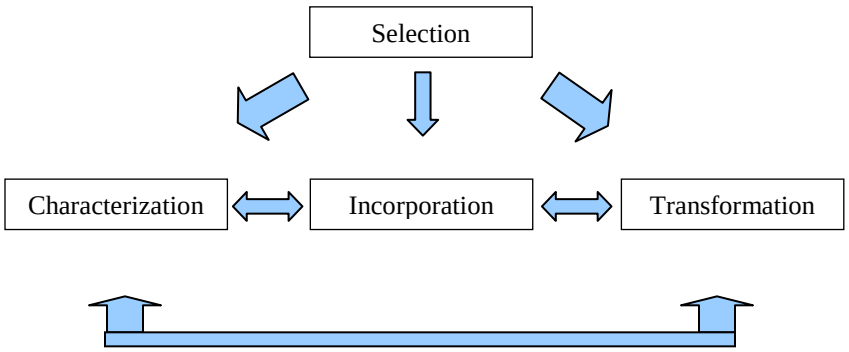

Figure 28. Suggested Cultural Authentication Model. Adapted from "Cultural Authentication of Hawaiian Quilting in the Early 19th Century," by L. Arthur, 2011, *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal, 29*(2), p. 115.

Additions to the Cultural Authentication Framework

Jasper and Roach-Higgins (1987) introduced two modifications to the theory of cultural authentication, *temporal authentication* and *tempo-cultural authentication*. Temporal authentication suggests that ethnic groups can use elements of their own cultural past and adopt these elements to their contemporary dress. Temporo-cultural authentication refers to a combination of cultural and temporal authentication in which a group can reach back in time *and* across cultural boundaries to adopt dress into their contemporary society (Jasper & Roach-Higgins, 1987).

In response to Jasper and Roach-Higgins, Roach, Eicher, and Johnson (1995) posit that temporal authentication is a variation of cultural authentication. They describe the difference between the two as, "a matter of locale. Temporal authentication occurs as change takes place through time within a specific cultural area or group. While cultural

authentication involves movement of elements of dress across cultural lines" (p. 375). Temporal authentication can happen when a society's contemporary dress contains elements of past dress from the same society. For example, Roach, Eicher and Johnson (1995) compare and contrast the low waisted dresses worn by American women during the 1920s, 1960s, and 1980s. Although the low waist was common to each period, each era's dress contained distinguishing elements that relate it to that specific decade such as the "spongy, woven crepe fabrics of silk and wool" of the 1920s versus the 1960s "double-knit fabric of polyester or wool" (p. 376).

Temporo-cultural authentication combines features of both cultural authentication and temporal authentication. An example of temporo-cultural occurred as the exhibit of King Tut artifacts toured the United States during the 1920s. This view of ancient life influenced fashion designers so much that Egyptian symbols and motifs were incorporated into the designs of the 1920s (Roach, Eicher, & Johnson, 1995). Based on the studies of Roach, Eicher, and Johnson, both temporo-cultural and temporal authentication can explain how groups might utilize dress, not only of their own past but also that of other groups.

Implications of Cultural Authentication for the Present Study

Cultural authentication, along with temporal authentication and temporo-cultural authentication, provides a framework for research on the American Indians of North Carolina. Styles of powwow dress worn by contemporary North Carolina Indians are conducive to the application of cultural authentication and particularly from a temporo-cultural perspective. That is, influences on powwow dress have come from other

American Indian tribes as well as local sources. As Jasper and Roach-Higgins (1987) explain "understanding these concepts [cultural authentication, temporal authentication, and temporo-cultural authentication] helps us comprehend how acts of borrowing, across time and space, sets loose processes of authentication whereby elements of dress are incorporated into new settings and their meanings transformed" (p. 4). In other words, cultural authentication can explain how traditional dress of cultures that have adopted elements or styles of dress from other cultures or from their own past can be seen as authentic. Cultural authentication was used to establish the relationship between the cultural identity of North Carolina American Indian tribes and the use of Plains Indian dress in contemporary North Carolina American Indian cultural practices. The more recent trend of North Carolina tribes using historical information about local ancestral tribes to create their own history of dress is also attributed to cultural authentication.

Temporo-cultural authentication was applied to understanding the influence of Plains Indian tribes on the powwow regalia worn by North Carolina tribes. Although different tribal groups altogether, North Carolina American Indian powwow dress borrows from Plains Indian dress of the 18th and 19th centuries for reasons that can be attributed to Pan-Indianism and a lack of historical record about North Carolina American Indian dress styles. As such, North Carolina American Indian tribes have selected, characterized, incorporated, and/or transformed Plains Indian ceremonial dress into their own "traditional" dress. Researching how variations of Plains Indian dress contribute to the temporo-cultural authentication process used by North Carolina Indian

tribes aids in understanding the importance of dress for the modern cultural identity of the American Indian.

Last, temporal authentication was useful in analyzing how North Carolina tribes are attempting to introduce historical aspects of their own tribal customs into their modern powwow dress. Temporal authentication was used to identify how and why North Carolina tribes have selected, characterized, incorporated, and/or transformed dress from their past for use in modern cultural practices.

Cultural authentication, along with its modifications, was useful in addressing two particular questions relative to this study: (1) *What about Plains influences on North Carolina American Indian powwow dress makes this dress "authentic"?* and (2) *How might historical influences specific to North Carolina and Southeastern tribes contribute to perceptions of authenticity?* Both are important to developing an overall understanding of what powwow dress means for North Carolina American Indians today.

Summary

This chapter provided an overview of research relative to North Carolina American Indians. A background on North Carolina American Indians and powwows was provided, along with review of the literature regarding the development of powwow regalia. The applicability of cultural authentication as a theoretical framework was also discussed. The next chapter outlines the research design and data collection methods employed in the dissertation.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

As described in Chapter I, the purpose of this study is to understand the development and meaning of powwow dress among North Carolina American Indian tribes. The objectives of the study are to: (1) examine North Carolina American Indians' styles of powwow dress, (2) investigate influences on the form and meanings of the dress, and (3) explore how members of North Carolina American Indian tribes use this dress to express identity. As discussed in Chapter II, the notion of cultural authenticity is examined as it pertains to understanding perceptions of authenticity relative to North Carolina American Indian powwow dress. An interpretive, and specifically ethnographic research design was used to address the purpose of the study.

According to Jax (1989), the goal of interpretive research is "to systematically search for an understanding of the ways people subjectively experience (perceive, interpret, plan, feel, value, construe) their world" (p. 64). Within the interpretivist paradigm, research focuses on understanding people and their lived experiences. In the case of this dissertation, an interpretive approach allowed for an in-depth investigation of the topic of powwow dress from the perspective of North Carolina American Indians, as they are individuals who have knowledge of and experience with this phenomenon.

This chapter provides an overview of the research design employed in the dissertation. The chapter begins with a general discussion of the ethnographic approach to interpretive research. An outline of the specific methods that were used to collect data is then provided. The last section includes a discussion of the approach to data analysis and interpretation.

Ethnography as Interpretive Inquiry

According to Sluka and Robben (2007), ethnography involves the "in-depth study of the culture of a people, group, or community" (p. 4). Lassiter (1998) describes ethnography as having "the potential to address the meaning and power of culture in people's everyday lives" (p. 48). As such, ethnography is essentially the study of culture. According to Mihesuah (1999), culture provides a framework for an individual's life. A group shares a culture when their past is the same and their future is expected to be the same. Culture provides individuals with an identity by supplying cultural standards to the group and by providing the group a sense of belonging or togetherness (Mihesuah, 1999). As a result, as Lassiter (1998) writes, "ethnography is built upon interpreting lived experience … and furthering an understanding of cultural diversity" (p. 48).

Ethnography involves understanding the activities and lives of people. This understanding requires intense observation in the context of fieldwork. Fieldwork requires one to be immersed in a culture or become an observer of the culture's activities. Because of their unique cultural identity, American Indian tribes have been frequent subjects of ethnographic fieldwork. In fact, Malinowski, one of the forefathers of anthropology, based his definition of ethnography on the study of American Indians and

other indigenous people, and wrote, “ethnography has to grasp the native’s point of view, his relation to life, to realize his vision of his world” (as quoted in Lassiter, 1998, p. 157).

North Carolina American Indians use powwows as an expression of culture and wear specific dress as they perform at the powwow. Powwows are lived experiences that transcend everyday life. Through these lived experiences, participants can express personal identity as well as a united tribal or cultural identity. The drums, the dance, and the dress of the powwow reinforce this identity. Thus, dress, as a part of the powwow, is one of the most important ways for individual participants to express tribal or cultural identity. Because the lived experiences of powwow participants can provide a glimpse into what dress means for identity expression, an ethnographic approach allowed me to focus on understanding these meanings from their particular perspective.

Data Collection

I investigated the use of ceremonial dress by North Carolina American Indians in the natural setting of the powwow. During late Spring and early Summer, the powwow circuit is particularly active in North Carolina and Virginia. I observed a total of eleven powwows during this time. I selected a range of different types of powwows, including large, multi-tribal festivals as well as smaller, more tribal based powwows. The powwows were attended by the tribes that comprised the focus of the study: the Haliwa-Saponi, the Lumbee, and the Eastern Band of the Cherokee, and the Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation. Among the federally and state-recognized tribes in North Carolina, members typically attend a large number of powwows every year.

To collect the data necessary for the dissertation, I employed methods commonly used in ethnographic research while in the field, including observation, visual documentation, and both field and in-depth semi-structured interviews. The following sections outline each of the data collection methods used.

Observation

In order to understand how dress is an integral part of the powwows of North Carolina American Indians, it was necessary to observe powwows and to view the dress in its natural setting, as it is being worn while the wearer is engaged in specific powwow dances. Observation is the primary tool or method used in ethnographic research. As a method, observation should take place in a natural setting or "field" that encompasses the cultural activities of the participants being studied (Merriam, 1998). Occurring as part of fieldwork, Flick (2006) posits that observation allows the researcher to "factually" see and record cultural practices instead of just having accounts of cultural practices through interviews (p. 215). However, as Merriam (1998) points out, in order for observations to be included as a research tool, they must have a "formulated research purpose," reflect a deliberate plan, be recorded, and have consistency and credibility (p. 95). Observation allows researchers to see firsthand what participants do, say, or wear within certain situations.

There are several different roles that a researcher can play during ethnographic observation, ranging from the complete participant to the complete observer, with the participant-as-observer and the observer-as-participant in between (Flick, 2006). Complete observers do not become involved with research participants and remain

impartial to the events being observed. In contrast, complete participation suggests becoming totally involved in the activity, culture, or event being studied. In this situation, the researcher is emotionally attached to the participants and does not write field notes or do analysis until completely leaving the research site. Providing a middle ground, the participant-as-observer is somewhat more immersed in the activities of the culture, while the observer-as-participant is first an observer and then a participant (Flick, 2006).

For this study, an observer-as-participant role was the best approach, largely because I did not participate in the actual dances. According to Gans (1999), the observer as participant, or what he calls the researcher-participant, becomes somewhat involved as a participant, while retaining his or her primary role as researcher. Because powwow dancers must prove their tribal identity before being allowed to participate in the powwow, I could not be a total participant. However, I could be a researcher-participant, in that I attended the powwows and specific powwow dances. Being a spectator permitted me to observe the big picture of the dance, the dancers, and the dress. Thus, I experienced some of the activity related to the powwow but remained a "researcher" (Gans, 1999).

Since observations are subjective and are interpreted by and through the researcher, it is important that the researcher be aware of any changes in participant behavior that may be due to the researcher's presence (Merriam, 1998). However, there are research contexts in which the presence of the researcher might do little to impact the actions of the participants. A powwow contains "custom and practice built up over years," therefore the presence of an observer is unlikely to affect the behavior of participants to a great degree (Merriam, 1998, p. 105). In other words, observers are not

unusual at a powwow, thus it is unlikely that the dancers were influenced by my presence there as a researcher. Table 1 lists the powwows where I conducted observations.

Table 1

Powwows Observed

Date	Location	Powwow
May 5, 2012	Pembroke, North Carolina	Lumbee Spring Powwow
June 9, 2012	Mebane, North Carolina	Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Band Powwow
June 16-17, 2012	Harmony, North Carolina	American Indian Cultural Association Powwow
July 3, 2012	Cherokee, North Carolina	Cherokee Powwow
July 14, 2012	Clemmons, North Carolina	Strong Sun Powwow
July 21, 2012	Cedar Bluff, Virginia	Drums of the Painted Mountain Powwow
September 1, 2012	Thurmond, North Carolina	Foothills Powwow
September 14, 2012	Burnsville, North Carolina	Mountain Heritage Powwow
September 22, 2012	Concord, North Carolina	Cabarrus Powwow
October 6, 2012	Ahoskie, North Carolina	Meherrin Powwow
October 20-21, 2012	North Wilkesboro, North Carolina	Yadkinville Powwow

Field Notes

After establishing oneself as an observer, the researcher begins to use observation as a method for collecting data. Field notes are the primary tool for recording what happens in the field. Most often field notes are something the researcher engages in after, rather than during, the observation. If one was to focus on writing while observing, it is likely that important moments will be missed altogether. Note-taking during observations can also cause distraction for the participants. To make sure key activities are recorded, however, Lofland and Lofland (1984) suggest using more inconspicuous, quickly jotted notes, "constituted of all the little phrases, quotes, key words, and the like" written during observation (p. 63). Jotted notes will help to "jog the memory" later when full field notes are written in detail (p. 63). While in the field, I used jotted notes in order to record descriptions of ceremonial dress and its role in the powwow dances. Jotting notes down during the powwow was important so that I could remember the distinguishing features of each powwow location and dances.

After a day of observations and jotted notes, a set of full field notes should be compiled as quickly as possible. According to Lofland and Lofland (1984), full field notes are "a running description of events, people, things heard and overheard, conversations among people, conversations with people" (p. 65). That is, the researcher should provide an outline of what was observed that is filled in with specific details, including a record of the setting and movement within (Merriam, 1998). Field notes are typically richly descriptive, rather than verbatim accounts.

After each powwow, I wrote a full set of field notes as soon after the event as possible, and no later than the morning after. Full field notes comprised the data from the observations and were supplemented by visual documentation of the powwows. Visual records of powwow events, and especially dress worn during the dances, was a critical part of the data that was gathered while I was in the field.

Visual Documentation

Culture is often expressed in visual form, as is the case with dress. Brace-Govan (2007) writes, "visual ethnography is an anthropological approach that incorporates visuality throughout the research process" (p. 736). Visual ethnography is a research method that supplements the information gathered by observations and field notes with visual documentation. According to Banks (2007), adding a visual element to a study is really a way of "extending the standard sociological methods of interviewing" (p. 59). The method of visual documentation used for this dissertation was still photography.

Banks (2007) writes that three specific guidelines should be followed when taking photographs during research. These guidelines are: (1) photographic images are event specific presentations, (2) any meaning in the image is dependent upon the context in which it was produced, and (3) the production of photographic images is a social event, involving communication and mutual understanding on the part of both image-maker and image-subject (p. 74). Based on these guidelines, subjects of photographs taken for this study were powwow dancers who consented to participating in a field interview and to being photographed. Because the powwow and field interview provided the context for the photographs, field notes from observations and interview transcripts provided the

background needed to supplement the photographs with written data for analysis and interpretation. Because of the visual nature of powwows, photography provided essential data depicting the ceremonial dress worn by North Carolina American Indians.

Interviews

Observational data is critical to ethnographic research, but many times it cannot explain the "why" behind the behavior. Hence, interviews are commonly conducted as part of ethnographic research. According to Blommaert and Jie (2010):

> Interviews are conversations: a particular kind of conversation, but a conversation nonetheless. It is an ordered conversation, one that is structured by questions or topics you may want to see discussed … and one in which you (the interviewer) will have to make sure that a particular order is being followed. (p. 44)

There are different types of interviews in qualitative research. Typically these types are classified as *unstructured, semi-structured,* and *structured* (Gillham, 2005). Unstructured interviews do not rely on a pre-determined set of questions asked by the interviewer and have no specific time limit. Unstructured types of interviews are primarily exploratory in nature. Structured interviews, in contrast, are based on pre-determined questions and can be compared to a verbal survey. Semi-structured interviews provide a kind of happy medium, in that they allow for the same questions to be asked of all participants, and the length of interviews to be approximately the same for all participants, yet questions are still open-ended to allow for some degree of flexibility.

Because semi-structured interviews are both structured and flexible, it was considered the most appropriate type for use in this dissertation. Two kinds of semi-structured interviews were employed: *field interviews* and *in-depth interviews*. The first occurred at the powwow or in the field. The second occurred outside of the powwow event and was more in-depth. I conducted field interviews at each powwow with male powwow participants who were affiliated with the tribes included in this study. Male participants were chosen for this study because of the importance of their regalia within the context of the North Carolina powwow. Men are featured much more prominently than women in the Plains Indian powwow, the model used by most North Carolina Indian tribes as well as that observed most often in this study. Potential participants were recruited at the powwow as well as prior to the powwow through North Carolina tribal affiliation offices. Field interviews lasted approximately 15 to 20 minutes and assessed the participant's perspectives on his powwow dress and its specific components. I also inquired about the dancer's knowledge of the historical aspects of his dress and how his identity is represented by it (see Appendix A: Field Interview Schedule). A total of 13 field interviews were conducted. Table 2 provides detail about field interview participants. All names have been changed for purposes of confidentiality.

Table 2

Field Interview Participants

Participant's Name	Tribal Affiliation	Dance Style	Powwow	Interview Date
Tatanka	Haliwa-Saponi	Northern Men's Traditional	Lumbee Spring Powwow	May 5, 2012
Blackfeather	Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation	Northern Men's Traditional	Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation Powwow	June 9, 2012
Snow Wolf	Pee Dee Indians of South Carolina	Northern Men's Traditional	Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation Powwow	June 9, 2012
Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground	Eastern Band of the Cherokee Indian	Northern Men's Traditional	Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation Powwow	June 9, 2012
Ben	Eastern Band of the Cherokee Indian/ Muscogee Creek	Fancy	American Indian Cultural Association Powwow	June 16, 2012
Don	Eastern Band of the Cherokee Indian	Northern Men's Traditional	American Indian Cultural Association Powwow	June 16, 2012
Jeffrey	Eastern Band of the Cherokee Indian/Cherokee Nation	Northern Men's Traditional	Drums of the Painted Mountain Powwow	July 21, 2012

(Table 2 continues)

(Table 2 continued)

Participant's Name	Tribal Affiliation	Dance Style	Powwow	Interview Date
Richard	Eastern Band of the Cherokee Indian	Northern Men's Traditional	Drums of the Painted Mountain Powwow	July 21, 2012
Big Frog	Eastern Band of the Cherokee Indian	Northern Men's Traditional	Cabarrus Powwow	September 22, 2012
Greyfox	Shakori/ Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation	Northern Men's Traditional	Cabarrus Powwow	September 22, 2012
Lonewolf	Eastern Band of the Cherokee Indian	Northern Men's Traditional	Cabarrus Powwow	September 22, 2012
Trey	Lumbee	Grass	Meherrin Powwow	October 6, 2012
Eddie	Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation	Grass	Yadkinville Powwow	October 20, 2012

From these field interviews, I recruited eight participants for the in-depth interview. These interviews lasted approximately 60 to 120 minutes, for a combined total of approximately 13 hours of interviews. These interviews were conducted at a location convenient to each participant. Because the goal of the in-depth interview was to explore experiences of the participants in their own words, the semi-structured format provided flexibility to alter or expand questions if the need arose. Semi-structured interview

questions were developed because "less structured formats assume that individual respondents define the world in unique ways" (Merriam, 1998, p. 74). Moreover, these interviews allowed me to delve more deeply into the connections between North Carolina American Indian powwow dress and identity (see Appendix B: In-Depth Interview Schedule). Table 3 provides details about the participants who agreed to an in-depth interview.

Table 3

In-Depth Interview Participants

Participant's Name	**Tribal Affiliation**	**Dance Style**	**Interview Location**
Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground	Eastern Band of the Cherokee Indian	Northern Men's Traditional	Bahama, North Carolina
Lonewolf	Eastern Band of the Cherokee Indian	Northern Men's Traditional	North Wilkesboro, North Carolina
Greyfox	Shakori/Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation	Northern Men's Traditional	North Wilkesboro, North Carolina
Jeffrey	Eastern Band of the Cherokee Indian/Cherokee Nation	Northern Men's Traditional	Bristol, Virginia
Big Frog	Eastern Band of the Cherokee Indian	Northern Men's Traditional	Albemarle, North Carolina
Blackfeather	Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation	Northern Men's Traditional	Hillsborough, North Carolina
Don	Eastern Band of the Cherokee Indian	Northern Men's Traditional	Statesville, North Carolina
Trey	Lumbee	Grass	Greensville, North Carolina

Both field and in-depth interviews were audio-recorded with the participant's consent (see Appendix C: Consent Form). After each interview was finished, it was transcribed verbatim. Wengraf (2001) suggests an "instant post-interviewing debriefing" (p. 209), therefore, I transcribed the field interviews immediately after each powwow. Likewise, each in-depth interview was transcribed as soon as possible to allow for as much information from the process to be retained as possible. Interview transcripts were analyzed in combination with photographs and field notes in order to address the objectives of the study.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

According to Merriam (1998), the key characteristics of interpretive or qualitative research methodology are "the goal of eliciting understanding and meaning, the researcher as primary instrument of data collection and analysis, the use of fieldwork, an inductive orientation to analysis, and findings that are richly descriptive" (p. 11). Accurate and consistent use of the methods for data collection allows for greater reliability and consistency relative to the topic and the findings (Mason, 1996).

After the interviews had been transcribed and field notes were complete, the data were categorized for analysis and then interpreted for meaning. According to Rubin and Rubin (1995), "coding is the process of grouping interviewees' responses into categories that bring together the similar ideas, concepts, or themes you have discovered, or steps or stages in a process" (p. 238). For this dissertation, coding was used to extract themes that relate to identifying influences on powwow dress, articulating descriptions of powwow dress, defining categories of powwow dress, and interpreting meanings of powwow dress.

In doing so, I followed the process of coding described by Banks (2007) where "data are gathered in stages, analyzed, and used to assess the initial hypothesis or research question, in a spiraling process until a point is reached where further data add no further insight" (p. 74). Since themes can be used to describe how people act or how people view the world, once the coding was done, the interpretation emerged as being thematic in nature (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). Initial themes were outlined and then shared with participants for their feedback.

Once the final thematic framework for this study was confirmed, meanings of the themes were connected back to the key issues identified in the literature review. This was achieved by comparing and contrasting the information extracted from the literature with the data to identify similarities and differences between the two (Spiggle, 1994). Last, the implications of the interpretation for understanding what powwow dress means for shaping North Carolina American Indian culture and identity was considered.

The results of the data analysis are presented in the next four chapters. As dress is a form of material culture, the approach used most often to report findings in material culture studies was used (Prown & Haltman, 2000). Specifically, I begin with a description of powwow dance origins and associated dress forms in Chapter IV. In Chapters V and VI, I move to an interpretation of meanings associated with these forms, specifically for communicating personal, tribal, and American Indian identity. Finally, Chapter VII presents a discussion of the significance of the interpretation for the purpose and objectives of the study as well as for the literature on American Indian culture and dress.

Summary

In this chapter I provided an overview of the research methodology used in this dissertation. I discussed the ethnographic research design and outlined the specific methods of data collection used. In the last section of the chapter, I provided a discussion of the approach to data analysis and interpretation.

CHAPTER IV

DESCRIPTION: POWWOW DANCE ORIGINS AND DRESS COMPONENTS

In Chapter II, review of the literature that exists on modern ceremonial regalia worn by North Carolina American Indians indicates that it evolved from the historic dress of the Plains American Indians. In addition, the literature describes how different regalia styles are incorporated into a typical North Carolina powwow. This chapter expands on these topics from the perspectives of powwow participants and based on observation data collected in the field. As discussed here, descriptions of regalia provided by participants are difficult to separate from their beliefs about the origins of the various dances. Thus, this chapter is divided into two parts. The first part provides participants' descriptions of the dances focused on in this study: (1) *Fancy Dance*, (2) *Grass Dance*, and (3) *Northern Men's Traditional Dance*. The second part provides descriptions of the components of regalia associated with the three dance styles.

Description of Powwow Dance Origins

Fancy Dance

Although participants provided varying accounts of the origins of the Fancy Dance, they seemed to agree that the Fancy Dance was used for two distinct purposes: entertainment and the preservation of culture and religion. Nearly all participants think that the dance originated in Oklahoma with the Ponca tribe, yet some suggest that it was the Hethuska Society or War Society of the Ponca tribe who "invented" the dance and that only its members could wear the feathered bustle and the roach headdress associated

with the dance. Ben, an Eastern Cherokee and Muskogee Creek Fancy dancer explains how the Hethuska Society's War Dance transitioned to the Fancy Dance:

> B: … Back in the day, the Poncas down there, they're a real Southern traditional tribe so they was doing the war dance and eventually the younger Poncas got tired of doing the same old traditional war dance so they come up with something a little faster, a little flashier. Back then they used to mimic the Charleston … in their movements. 1920s, 30s. So they started out with something new and since then you know, it has built on and it has been in the wild west show that they used to have back in the day. There were Fancy dancers in that.

Contrary to Ben's ideas about the history of the Fancy Dance, Big Frog, an Eastern Band of the Cherokee Indian member and a Northern Men's Traditional dancer suggests that the dance was created during Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, and not before. The original ceremonial dance performed during these shows was the Southern Straight Dance, a slow, dignified dance. Audience members at the show demanded something more exciting "so they started wearing feather bustles. Then in the 1920s and 30s, there was a push to give people more, so the modern Fancy dancer came along with two bustles" (Big Frog).

Other participants suggested that the origins of the Fancy Dance and its regalia might be somewhere in between the stories told by Ben and Big Frog. For example, another explanation of the Fancy Dance indicates that it started in the 1920s and 1930s, as both Big Frog and Ben suggest, but that it began as a source of expression for religious and cultural freedom. That is, many American Indian dances had been outlawed by the United States government. Since American Indian tribes used dance to communicate their spirituality and culture, the dancing ban was detrimental to their ability to express who

they were. The Ponca tribe got around this ban by inventing a dance that would not only entertain non-Indians at both Wild West shows and on the reservation, but could also be used to express American Indian spirituality and religion. In order to make the dance appealing as a form of entertainment, the traditional dance bustle was made larger and more colorful. Streamers, colored feathers, and trim were added for visual excitement and appeal. According to Big Frog, the powwow circuit had already been developed at the time of the Fancy Dance's invention. Other tribes, like the Kiowa took it on the powwow circuit and then popularized it as they went around the country. As time went on, different elements such as bells, fluffs, and extra bustles on the back and arms were added to the dress, making it even more elaborate.

In observing local and regional powwows during data collection, I discovered that Fancy dancers are few and far between in the area. Many powwow participants explained that this is due to the lack of competition powwows in the Southeast. Since the Fancy Dance was created to attract audiences and create excitement, today most Fancy dancers today prefer to attend competition powwows where they can gain the attention of the judges and win prize money. The few Fancy dancers that I did observe at the American Indian Cultural Association powwow, Occaneechi powwow, Cherokee powwow, and Lumbee powwow all wore very similar regalia and attracted a great deal of attention from spectators.

Grass Dance

The origins of the Grass Dance are symbolic and less historic than the Fancy dance. Participants shared several different stories as to how the Grass Dance was

created. Through oral history, these stories have been passed down along generational lines. Trey, a Lumbee Grass dancer, explains his tribe's interpretation:

> T: The Grass Dance, from what I've been told … We say from what we've been told because everybody has different views upon the origins of the dance so a lot of this is word of mouth. And I'll tell like I've been told. The Grass Dance comes from the Omaha people out in Nebraska and it was one of the original warrior society dances. The Grass Dance first evolved like your Men's Traditional from out West. Everything comes from the Sioux people. The whole point of the Grass Dance society is to go out and pat down, dance down the prairie grass out there for people to have gatherings.

He goes on to explain that the Grass Dance was considered a Warrior's Dance, in that the warriors would go into battle and scalp their enemies. They would attach the scalps to their belts and tell stories about them. Eventually the scalps rotted and were replaced with sweet grass. Trey provides another version, "Some people say that another story is that these two boys were out there dancing and they just happened to grab sweet grass, put it in their belts and just dance. There are different stories behind the dance." Indeed, Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground describes another possible reason it began, which is the most popular Plains Indian version of the dance's origins:

> TDSTG: The Grass Dance came from the Plains. They would choose people that would go into an area where the buffalo grass was real tall and before they would have their ceremony, the Grass Dancers would go in and dance the grass down. They would have sashes on so whenever they would dance it down, they would reach down and pull the grass up and tuck it in their outfits, in their sashes. That's why you see with the Grass Dancer the flowing yarn or ribbons. That's what that represents. So most powwows if you go to a powwow before the grand entry, they'll have the Grass Dancers come out and dance which is in honor of the Plains Indians, where they dance the grass down.

In addition to these stories, at several powwows that I observed, I heard another popular version of the origins of the Grass Dance. This version involves mythical beginnings and finds its origins in the Southeast. Eddie, a member of the Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation is a Grass dancer and tells the following story:

> E: My people have a separate story about a little crippled boy when the powwow came to the grounds. He asked his grandfather, "Grandfather, I want to dance." His grandfather said, "You can't dance, son. You can't even walk. You're crippled." So he held his head low and waited until next year. "No you're still crippled." He held his head low and he went on. Third year came around and he said, "Grandfather, I can't take it anymore. I feel like I have to dance." Grandfather said, "Go talk to the elders and see if they will let you dance and we'll see." So they made him a top and a bottom and he got out there. They set him down in the field and they started on the side of the drum. And he started moving with the beat. By the time the honor started and picked up, he was standing up and dancing. He picked up grass and wove it into his regalia to take from the earth in a good way. And when they go back … he finds himself not able to walk again.

Another version of this particular story suggests that the when the little boy was dancing, he began to flail around because he had not been able to move before. The other dancers found these moves interesting and began to mimic him in order to honor him in the dance. Thus the Grass Dance took on its unique steps. Interestingly, most of the Grass dancers that I observed at powwows were young men, ranging from school age to some who were in their early twenties.

Northern Men's Traditional

Powwow participants most often refer to the Northern Men's Traditional Dance as the "Warrior's Dance." This is because of the dance's origins as a Plains Indian warrior ceremonial dance. Don, a Northern Men's Traditional Dancer from South

Carolina explains, “Northern Traditional was the original style. Warrior’s society. You could only dance it if you were a warrior.” Don and several of the other participants are veterans of the United States Armed Forces. They all choose to participate in the Northern Men’s Traditional Dance because of its origins as a Warrior’s Dance. They consider themselves warriors similar to the Plains Indian warriors of the 1800s.

One of the most noticeable components of the Northern Men’s Traditional Dance regalia is the bustle. The origins of the bustle are described by Big Frog:

> BF: Well, the bustle came from Oklahoma … Plains Indians took the style of putting a clump of feathers together on your back. The Oklahoma Indians where the powwow started early with the Kiowa and the Ponca tribe, they were wearing a cluster of feathers and we just called it a “C bustle,” which is basically just a clump of feathers with trailers and then the Plains Indians started putting extended feathers out. That’s where that came from. Northern Traditional refers to Northern Plains.

One particular deviation from the typical Plains Indian influenced Northern Men’s Traditional regalia emerged as important. Most powwow participants refer to this variation as “Southeastern Woodlands” or “Eastern Woodlands” regalia. For example, Grey Fox, a Northern Men’s Traditional dancer, describes his powwow regalia in historical context:

> GF: Mine is Eastern Woodlands … Most of my regalia would work, I would be a 1700s mixed blood … These big beads were available on the East coast in the 1700s. The first beads sent over here were rosaries because colonists didn’t wear beads so they made the rosaries really flamboyant and the colonists took them apart and sold beads to the Indians. So being in the 1700s, my persona is going from Indian village to Indian village out through the wilderness and into the colonial towns and all that … I have enough trade stuff that I could get by, buy my meals, and trade stuff with outlying villages and still not get in trouble with the governor.

According to Grey Fox, Southeastern Woodlands regalia does not have any particular "style protocol." Those who wear this type of regalia seek to emulate the American Indian of the East or Southeast at around the time of European contact. Trey explains further:

> T: Once you had the contact with the English … When they came over, they brought a lot of clothing, a lot of cotton. So you would see the stuff. It's that transition point from your hunter/gatherer societies to your farmer society with more traditional leggings made out of deer skin. When these new things came in, a lot of times the folks would just give them the shirts because they thought it was a sin for them to be naked. That's historical. They started incorporating a lot of European clothing into their traditional regalia. That's where you get the beads, all the seed beads, all the glass beads, they would trade buckskins, deerskins, for beads, guns, and other things that were pretty valuable. So they started incorporating that into their regalia. I'd say the late 16th century.

Based on the observation data it appears that many powwow participants combine the historical components of both Plains Indian dress with that of Southeastern Woodlands to create their own Northern Men's Traditional Dance styles. Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground explains how this combination surfaces in his regalia:

> TDSTG: The Plains part would be the bustle and it would be the headpiece because of the porky roach. As far as the Eastern Woodlands, you've got the knife and how the knife is held on, the apron and the moccasins and during the winter time, the leggings. The regalia is Men's Traditional with a bustle … Now the bustle wasn't popular with the Cherokee because that's more or less a Plains Indian, more of the bustle and the fancy headpiece called the porky roaches … So in this area, the Eastern Woodlands, you wouldn't have a bustle, you might have if you were a dignitary, you might have a headpiece but it might be made out of turkey feathers but the bustle is mainly from the Plains Indians … and the people that wore the bustles were actually warriors. So being a veteran, I can wear the bustle if I so choose.

To keep the Southeastern Woodlands regalia even more authentic, Grey Fox and several other participants actually process their own buckskin using traditional methods:

> GF: Mine is all brain-tanned buckskin. Instead of using oil, like beech wood oil or something like you use on baseball gloves, you use mink oil or something like that. The brain mixed with water is the emulsified oil that tans it. Then you use smoke to set it. The smoke creates a chemical reaction that keeps the brain from washing out so it's washable once you do it right … It's a fox [hanging from buckskin] and I got a fox face on my hat … Fox face on my bag. I tanned what's on the hat … I set a 55 gallon drum over at a local hunt club and they give me. They put the heads and the hides and the legs. Normally that stuff goes to the landfill. My promise was that at least some of it would make it into the dance circle now.

Description of Regalia Components

Participants are quite aware of the history of their particular dance style and the origins of the dance style's regalia. However, the participants also wear certain styles because of personal preferences, and choose their dance style based on what it means to them, as will be discussed at length in Chapter V. In this section, specific regalia components are described via participants' responses. Although the focus is on description of form rather than interpretation of meaning, elements of personal meanings are discussed when they help to better explain the form and facts of a particular regalia element. Regalia descriptions are organized by body location, starting with footwear and ending with headdresses and face paint.

Footwear

All of the powwow participants wear moccasins made of either deer or cow hide. Differences emerge depending on the particular dance style for which they are worn. For example, Northern Men's Traditional Dancers who wear Southeastern Woodlands regalia

or a combination of Plains Indian and Southeastern Woodlands styles usually wear plain leather moccasins with additional accessories at the ankle. Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground, Blackfeather, and Grey Fox all wear this style of moccasin (see Figure 29). Southeastern Woodlands or Cherokee moccasins like those worn by Lone Wolf in Figure 30 feature a center top seam with folded flap and ankle ties (for illustration, see Figure 31). Styles based on the Plains Indian influence are made of two pieces, including the shoe with lacing across the top of the foot and a separate sole (see Figure 32).

Figure 29. Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground wears moccasins with bells around the ankles.

Figure 30. Lonewolf wears Cherokee style moccasins.

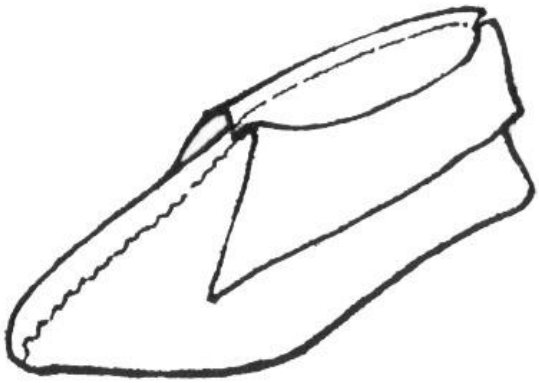

Figure 31. Cherokee style moccasins. The drawing illustrates the one-piece construction.

Figure 32. Snow Wolf wearing Plains Indian style moccasins.

Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground describes how he accessorizes his moccasins and the purpose of the moccasin in the dance circle:

> TDSTG: You've got your moccasins because any time you dance in the circle you have to have covers on your feet … They want you to have shoes on your feet because you're walking on Mother Earth and you want to give her the respect that she deserves. I usually wear bells around my ankles or I'll have sheepskin then bells that come up. I've got bells here that got leather fringe that hangs down. That also helps cool you down. Because whenever you sweat the leather will soak up the sweat and it helps cool you down. A lot of times, I'll wear deer toes, which is like a rattle, like your finger nails. It's deer toes so it makes a noise. We take the deer hooves and boil them in hot water and pop the toes off and it's the nastiest thing you've ever seen … The bells and the deer toes and stuff like that, most of that stuff would be worn during competition dancing to get the attention of the judges.

Participants who are Fancy dancers, Grass dancers, or Plains influenced Northern Men's Traditional dancers will wear moccasins adorned with seed beads of various designs. Don, Trey, Ben, and Big Frog all wear beaded moccasins in the Plains Indian style. The Northern Men's Traditional dancers like Don and Big Frog who favor more

decorative regalia and all Fancy and Grass dancers will wear the beaded Plains Indian style moccasin (see Figure 33).

Figure 33. Big Frog's beaded Northern Men's Traditional moccasins.

Don explains the style influences on his moccasin design as being Pan-Indian (see Figures 34 & 35):

> D: A lot of my bead work is basically Lakota Sioux, in that style. You see like triangles and the colors … geometric shapes. The beadwork on the moccasins is just kind of like Pan-Indian. You know because of the feathers. It matches or tries to match everything else.

Figure 34. A pair of Don's Northern Men's Traditional beaded moccasins. Note the Pan-Indian geometric shapes and symbols.

Figure 35. Another pair of Don's moccasins. Note the beaded feathers across the top of the foot and leather fringe at the ankles.

Leggings or Pants

According to participants, types of leggings or pants will vary based on the dance. Leggings generally cover to only just above the knee and are tied around the thigh. Leggings are mostly made of deerskin but can be made of other types of leather or even fabric. Participants who wear leggings explain that they will use a breech clout or apron at the hips for full coverage. According to participants, leggings are usually worn by Northern Men's Traditional dancers, while Grass dancers and Fancy dancers tend to wear pants that coordinate with the rest of the regalia. Those who do wear leggings usually wear shorts underneath for modesty purposes. Some are even more modest than that, as Richard, an Eastern Cherokee Northern Men's Traditional dancer explains, "Usually I would be wearing leggings but I'm wearing pants because of the children." In the course of my observations, I witnessed at least two dancers who were wearing nothing underneath their leggings. However, this is not the norm because of the spectators in attendance, as Richard pointed out. Similarly, Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground describes his style of legging:

> TDSTG: A lot of the regalia and stuff like my leggings and stuff like that, they are not sewn, they are just punched and you tie them with leather and also gives you fringe. The leggings will have fringe on them. What I do is combine the Plains Indians with the Eastern Woodland regalia. If it's cold I'm going to wear leggings. If it's hot I don't.

Lone Wolf, a Northern Men's Traditional dancer, wears leggings and combines both Southeastern Woodlands and Plains styles at various powwows. At one of the many powwows where I observed him dancing, he described his leggings:

LW: These [leggings] right here are Plains. We [Eastern Cherokee] didn't have the fringe on our leggings. This is Western Plains. I have different kinds of leggings. People say, "Every time we see you, you're different." (see Figures 36 & 37)

Figure 36. Lonewolf wears Plains style deerskin leggings. Note the apron worn to cover the upper leg and lower torso region.

Figure 37. Lonewolf wears deerskin leggings at the Cabarrus powwow. Note the apron.

Blackfeather wears different styles of leggings depending on his various roles during a powwow. As he sometimes is both Master of Ceremony and/or a dancer, he wears various combinations of leggings and pants (see Figures 38 & 39):

> B: After I went buckskin I started MCing. I had been MCing a while because in '94 … I built the village down there [in Hillsborough]. I was MCing in 2 or 3 different styles. I had Eastern Woodland. I had Western, and I went comfortable. I just wore buckskin leggings and a shirt and maybe a piece of otter. I changed my style many times … Some of our people just go with the buckskins and the loincloth and no top shirt. Now when I go to a powwow and I'm not going to dance, I wear blue jeans.

Figure 38. Blackfeather's deerskin leggings.

Figure 39. Blackfeather wears Western style jeans as a non-dancer.

Grass dancers and Fancy dancers are more likely to wear pants made from fabric than leggings and this is because of the elaborate nature of the regalia worn for these two dances. Grass dancers and Fancy dancers are less interested in tradition than in dress that

gets them noticed, because they want to attract the attention of the judges at competition dances. According to Trey, it is for this reason that Fancy dancers and Grass dancers wear pants, in as much as they can be decorated with fringe or ribbon. Fancy dancers and Grass dancers are also the most active dancers among male dancers at the powwow. As such, Trey's pants are made from fabric that is sturdier than that of the rest of the regalia (see Figure 40). As Trey explains, pants have to be made from fabric that can withstand wear and tear as well as repeated repairs:

> T: Then you have pants. My Grass Dance pants, which I had repaired a few days ago. My whole set is made out of satin, black satin, but my pants are made out of a different material. They are a bit tougher. So I had my beadwork designed on the bottom of it. You want your stuff to match. They are kind of bell bottom, I guess. They are to where I can wear them over my bells.

Figure 40. Trey wears his black Grass Dance pants at the Meherrin powwow.

Aprons and Breechclouts

Depending on the dance style, participants wear either an apron or a breechclout. A breechclout is also often referred to as a "loin cloth." Big Frog explains the two styles:

> BF: A breechclout is one long piece of fabric or leather that actually wraps up between the legs front to back (much like a diaper). The ends drape over the front and back and hang like an apron. The apron is just the front and back panels.

Breechclouts are used to cover the participant's body and are either worn with leggings or on their own. Aprons are used more for decoration and personal style. For example, Richard's apron features the American eagle:

> R: The eagle is the path finder of the sky. He's also the bird that carries the prayers to the creator so that's why most Native Americans wear eagle feathers on their bustles and stuff like that. The wolf is the pathfinder of the ground. He shows you the direction to go if you're not too stubborn to see it. He guides you but he can't make you go. The eagle does the same thing from the sky. He gets a bird's eye view so he can see what's in the path.

Richard's apron also features the colors black and red, which are the Cherokee colors of war (see Figure 41). Snow Wolf's apron represents the Pee Dee Indians of South Carolina tribal name. Like Snow Wolf, Big Frog's apron includes his tribal name painted in the Cherokee language along with a depiction of a frog (see Figure 42).

Figure 41. Richard wearing an apron with an eagle and Cherokee colors of war.

Figure 42. Big Frog wears an apron painted with his Cherokee name.

Some aprons are worn as tributes to other people or tribes. For example, at the Yadkinville Valley powwow, Lonewolf wore a front apron decorated with a Plains Indian and American flag motif and a back apron decorated with a Canadian and First Nation member and flag. The apron was worn to honor all Natives in both the United States and

Canada (see Figures 43 & 44). As shown in Figure 45 and Figure 46, Blackfeather's apron is made from floral fabric that represents the kinds of fabric traded by Europeans with the Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation several hundred years ago.

Figure 43. Lonewolf wearing apron dedicated to indigenous people.

Figure 44. The Canadian flag is depicted on the back of Lonewolf's apron.

Figure 45. Blackfeather wearing a floral printed apron.

Figure 46. Detail of the floral pattern on Blackfeather's apron.

Grass dancers, Fancy dancers, and more contemporary Northern Men's Traditional dancers usually wear aprons that are quite decorative in design. Like the other elements of their regalia, aprons often include elements designed to attract the attention of the audience or judges. As Trey explains, he uses ribbons on his apron, which is also decorated with beads and mirrors. He also wears "side tabs" with a matching design (see Figure 47):

> T: I would put on my front and back apron. My front apron has ribbon hanging down from it and it's really colorful. My back apron, I have these mirrors with beads around the mirrors with extra ribbon hanging down and sparkly stuff. In grass dancing, they say that your back needs to be fancier than your front. I would put on my side tabs. Once again they have matching appliqué design. Ribbon hanging down. It's just a continuation of my front and back aprons.

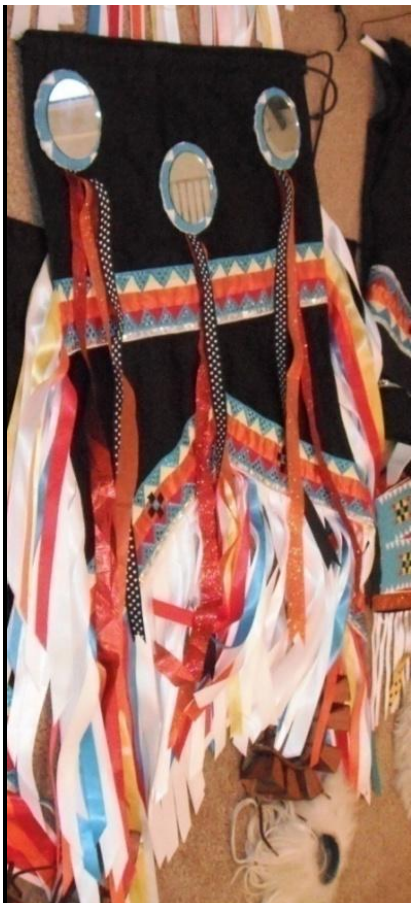

Figure 47. Trey's mirrored back apron. Note the colorful ribbons and mirrors.

Don, a contemporary Northern Men's Traditional dancer, and Ben, a Fancy dancer, wear aprons that are designed to blend with the rest of their regalia yet also add some "flashiness" to their dance movements (see Figures 48 & 49).

Figure 48. Don wears a more elaborate contemporary Northern Men's Traditional apron. Its features a geometric design and ribbon trim.

Figure 49. Ben wears a decorated Fancy Dance apron. It includes triangular shaped side tabs with red fringe.

Bustle

According to participants, the bustle is the main dress component of Plains influenced Northern Men's Traditional as well as Fancy Dance regalia. The bustle is an integral part of the regalia of both dances because it was originally worn by the warriors of the Plains. However, participants explained that the Northern Men's Traditional bustle represents the birds of the Plains that arrived at the battlefield first and was worn primarily by honored warriors. As Plains Indians moved on to reservations and lost their warrior ways, the bustle remained to represent their warrior heroes. As American Indians entered the Armed Forces, the bustle again became a representation of the warrior. The Northern Men's Traditional bustle of today is most like the bustles worn by Plains warriors.

According to participants, bustles are usually made from bird feathers. For example, Jeffrey's Northern Men's Traditional bustle features red tail hawk feathers (see Figure 50). He discusses the process involved in acquiring certain feathers for the bustle and other parts of the regalia:

> J: The feathers on the back, that's called the bustle. It's made of red tail hawk feathers and all the feathers on my stick are red tail hawk. You know you can't hunt birds of prey. That's against the law and the only ones that can have them are Native people. So we have to apply to get the feathers. They have four feather banks throughout the United States and we send our application in for the Bureau of Indian Affairs and you can ask for a whole bird, you can ask for a number of feathers, what type you want and then they send them to you.

Figure 50. Jeffrey's Northern Men's Traditional bustle made from red tail hawk feathers.

Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground wears a bustle with his Plains Indian and Southeastern Woodlands regalia:

> TDSTG: Actually the bustle and the headpiece and stuff like that, actually would be worn during certain ceremonies. It's not something that you would wear every day. So a lot of it is Eastern Woodlands but when we go to powwows, I usually dance with the bustle and the headpiece because to honor those people out there [in the Plains]… If you take the bustle and the headpiece that I wear off, the rest of it is basically Eastern Woodlands. (see Figure 51)

Figure 51. Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground wears a bustle to honor Indians from the Plains.

Styles of Northern Men's Traditional bustles observed at the powwows consisted primarily of either full or partial feather circles. The feathers are typically of natural colors and feature a decorative circle in the center, as seen in Figure 52. According to Evans (1998), "feather tips can be left undecorated, but often, leather spots in nickel or dime size, horsehair, and/or small white fluffs can be attached" (p. 15). Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground's bustle, as seen above in Figure 51, features these leather spots and has horsehair attached to the feather tips. Figure 53 features a Northern Men's Traditional bustle with white ribbon attached to each feather tip. The ribbons or horsehair additions are used to create movement during the dance. Other Northern Men's Traditional bustles have two feather circles. For example, Don's contemporary style Northern Men's

Traditional bustle has two feather circles, comprised of a small circle inside of a larger one (see Figure 54).

Figure 52. A Northern Men's Traditional dancer. He is wearing a natural feathered bustle with a center medallion.

Figure 53. Bustle featuring white ribbon attached to each feather tip.

Figure 54. A contemporary double circle bustle with a center medallion.

Like the Northern Men's Traditional bustle, the Fancy Dance bustle has its origins in warrior society among the Plains Indian. The Fancy Dance bustle was worn during Wild West shows by former warriors. After World War I, the bustle gained in popularity after veterans started wearing it with their Fancy Dance regalia. Today Fancy Dance regalia includes a double bustle that features "flagging tape on the tips of their feathers; other variations include colored ribbon, cheerleaders' pompom strands, horsehair, angora sheep hair, and sometimes Mylar metallic icicles like those used to decorate Christmas trees" (Evans & Reddick, 1998, p. 31). Among participants, Ben's Fancy Dance bustle is quite elaborate and comprised of two tiers of discs, one on top of the other and features horsehair attached to the feather tips of the bustle (see Figure 55). Figure 56 shows a Fancy dancer wearing a bustle with metallic icicle fringe hanging down from the feather tips. Indeed, based on the data, it appears that Fancy Dance bustles should be as colorful

and elaborate as possible (see Figure 56).

Figure 55. Ben's Fancy Dance bustle includes horsehair attached to the feather tips.

Figure 56. Fancy Dance bustle with golden Mylar fringe attached to the feather tips.

Breastplate

Breastplates are worn primarily by Northern Men's Traditional dancers. They were originally used for protection by Plains Indians, as the warrior element again surfaces in the regalia. As with other regalia components, participants personalize their breastplates. As Jeffrey describes:

> J: I have a breastplate which was used for protection of course … The center is glass beads and it's an American flag with only seven stars. That's the seven clans of the Cherokee. The bottom is a Confederate flag because my family was all Confederate Cherokees during the Civil War. (see Figure 57)

Figure 57. Jeffrey's breastplate features patriotic colors and symbols representing his heritage.

In today's powwows, most breastplates are made from plastic due to the expense and weight of bone. However a few participants do wear authentic bone breastplates. Breastplates are most often made from kits that can be purchased from regalia supply stores or purchased as authentic historic breastplates. The bone sold to make modern breastplates is most often that of deer. Older breastplates might also be made of buffalo bone. Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground describes his breastplate (see Figure 58):

> TDSTG: I've got the long breastplate and it's made out of bone. Now the very first one I had was made out of plastic but then as I progressed, I went ahead and wanted to go traditional so I made the bustle and I made the breastplate and it's the extra long breastplate. I'd say everything together you are looking at 45 to 50 pounds or more. They're very heavy.

Figure 58. Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground wearing the breastplate that he made using deer bones.

Like Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground, Richard wears an actual bone breastplate. However, instead of making a new one, Richard acquired his through an antique dealer: "My breastplate is from the early 1800s … an 1831 roach headdress and an 1830 Lakota Sioux breastplate" (see Figure 59).

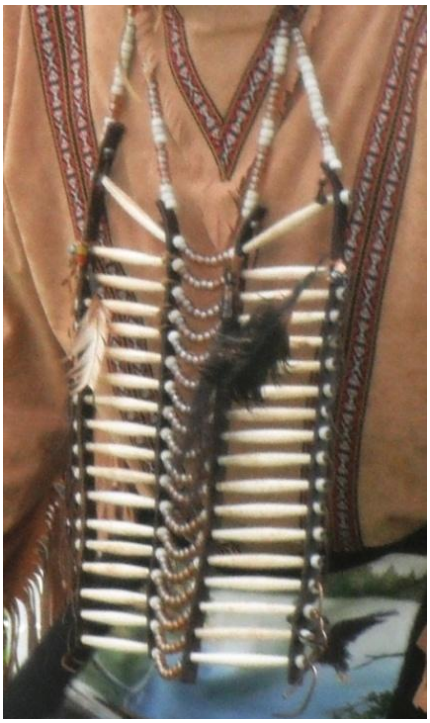

Figure 59. Richard wearing the Plains Indian breastplate that he purchased.

As described in Chapter II, hairpipe breastplates were originally worn as protection by Plains Indian warriors. Because of the association with warriors, the breastplate is primarily worn by Northern Men's Traditional dancers. According to Evans (1998), the breastplate can be "decorated with metal or shell conchos, ribbons or quilled wheels. The breastplate can be strung with simulated sinew and fringe added to the outer edges" (p. 11). Figures 60 and 61 show Lonewolf's breastplates, both decorated with

leather fringe. The breastplate in Figure 60 is made from dyed plastic, while the breastplate in Figure 61 is made from natural colored plastic.

Figure 60. Lonewolf's breastplate made of dyed plastic and leather fringe.

Figure 61. Lonewolf's breastplate made of natural colored plastic and leather fringe.

Although the breastplate is mostly worn by Northern Men's Traditional dancers, observation data revealed that other dancers wear variations of the breastplate with their regalia. For example, Figure 62 shows a Grass dancer wearing a brightly colored breastplate with his regalia. Figure 63 features a participant dressed in Eastern Woodlands regalia wearing a breastplate, even though, according to Lonewolf, breastplates were not originally worn by tribes in that region.

Figure 62. A Grass dancer wears a breastplate decorated with bright orange beads.

Figure 63. A dancer dressed in Eastern Woodlands regalia wears a breastplate.

Shirt and Vest

According to participants, shirts and vests are typically the least "authentic" aspect of a dancer's regalia. That is, these items are mostly used for protection and modesty while dancing. However some dancers use their shirts or vests to display personal or tribal identity as well as a decorative addition to the whole regalia. For example, Jeffrey wears a vest with his Northern Men's Traditional regalia (see Figure 64). This vest is in contrast to the rest of the regalia because it represents a completely different part of his ancestry. He explains, "The vest is a Confederate vest, Cavalry vest. The buttons on the vest are Cherokee buttons. It's a seven point star that represents the Cherokee."

Figure 64. Jeffrey wears a vest that represents his Confederate heritage.

As described in Chapter II, ribbon shirts are worn for all dance styles. Indeed, the data indicate that ribbon shirts are a popular choice for many powwow participants. Most participants have worn a ribbon shirt at least one time or another during their dancing careers. According to participants, however, the more traditional dancers opt for buckskin; either faux or real. Richard explains his shirt choice, "I'm wearing micro-suede because I can't afford buckskin. The shirt is in the style of the Lakota" (see Figure 65).

Figure 65. Richard is wearing his micro-suede shirt.

At times, Don, Trey, and Lone Wolf all wear ribbon shirts with their regalia. Shirt styles are often based on historic tribal or colonial era styles (see Figures 66 & 67). For example, Blackfeather wears regalia with an Eastern Woodlands influence. Since the Eastern Woodlands Indians wore shirts based on those introduced to them by European colonials, Blackfeather's shirt features ruffles instead of ribbons (see Figure 68). Similarly, Lone Wolf often wears a natural colored cotton shirt resembling those worn by the Cherokee during early European contact (see Figure 69).

Figure 66. A ribbon shirt with Northern Men's Traditional regalia.

Figure 67. Lonewolf wears a ribbon shirt at the Yadkin Valley powwow.

Figure 68. Blackfeather wears a ruffled shirt with Eastern Woodlands regalia.

Figure 69. Lonewolf wearing a traditional cotton shirt. It is similar to those worn by American Indians post European contact.

Yoke

Fancy dancers and Grass dancers will typically wear a yoke instead of a breastplate over the shirt. Due to the more decorative nature of this type of regalia, the yoke is an added element that is designed to match the rest of the regalia. Trey describes how his yoke is worn (see Figure 70):

> T: Up here this is called my…yoke or cape. This is all appliqué. I attached the fluffs. These are just little plumes – extra attention. On my back, this appliqué piece goes across my back shoulders. After my shirt, I'd put on my cape or the yoke … with all the appliqué down it and all the ribbon hanging from it.

Figure 70. Trey's yoke covers his shirt and matches the rest of his regalia.

Chokers, Cuffs, Armbands, and Catawbas

As with breastplates, armbands, cuffs and chokers are usually worn by Northern Men's Traditional dancers and are meant to represent the Plains Indian warrior:

BF: Most warriors wore armbands. A lot of different people wore them. It's German silver … When the Westerners came here, we did not have silver. We could work copper and gold but we hadn't got to silver yet. So that was a big trade item. I wear red, white, and blue. That's for the United States. Choker … It protects my organs ... my jugular vein. Not only in war but if a bear attacked me or something, mountain lion, I'm kind of protected. (see Figure 71)

Figure 71. Big Frog wears a choker, arm bands, and wrist cuffs with his Northern Men's Traditional regalia.

Other participants, such as the Grass dancers, wear cuffs and armbands as regalia decoration. Upper armbands, or those that are worn over or near the elbow can also be called wings because of the way they extend out from the wearer's arm like a wing. These components add an additional element of color and tend to match the rest of the regalia's beadwork. Trey explains:

T: These are beaded cuffs. A friend of mine did this pattern for me and I told him what colors I wanted. It's little mistakes here and there but it covers up good so most people don't notice. Over there are my upper armbands. These are called wings in a sense. Those are loom beaded. And then I'd put on my cuffs. (see Figure 72)

Figure 72. Trey wears upper armbands, or "wings" and cuffs as part of his Grass Dance regalia.

Fancy dancers generally wear Catawbas on their shoulders instead of armbands. Catawbas are small discs made of feathers that surround a decorative center, which can be comprised of beadwork or something metallic like Ben's CDs. Ben explains that "the silver, the flashy colors, CD's inside my [Catawbas] … are my sign or reflection. Colorful, flashy, standout." Ben's Catawbas are made of dyed yellow, red, and black

feathers and bright silver compact discs that reflect the light and draw attention to his dance movements (see Figure 73).

Figure 73. Ben wears Catawbas on his arms with his Fancy Dance regalia.

Headdress

Roach

Participants indicated that it is typical for Fancy dancers, Grass dancers, and Northern Men's Traditional dancers to wear porcupine roaches with their regalia. Most roaches include hair that stands on end along the top of the head, but there are some variations, including those with visors. Both Don and Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground wear the latter type of roach (see Figure 74). As Don explains:

D: The roach is porcupine. Most of the regalia that you see around here is just updated versions of the regalia of the 1800s. It's porcupine and deer hair. This is a visor. Sometimes they use tail feathers to make it. Kind of gives it a menacing look. It's the same style [as the porcupine roach]. It's older, much older. Northern traditional was the original style … You could only dance it if you were a warrior.

Figure 74. A Northern Men's Traditional dancer wearing a visor on his roach headdress. The visor consists of brown feathers fanning out over his face like the bill of a cap.

Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground describes his roach:

TDSTG: The head piece that I wear is called a porky roach. It's made out of the guard hair of the porcupine and deer hair which is in the front. You can also get it with it in the middle. Then they have a spreader that goes on top of it. The spreader, you can put feathers in it. That's where the feathers go. Some people put turkey feathers. If they've been gifted with eagle feathers then they'll put eagle feathers. Eagle feathers are something that's gifted to you. I don't buy them. It's illegal to buy eagle feathers. You can earn them but that's about the only way. (see Figures 75 & 76)

Figure 75. Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground wears a porcupine roach with a visor.

Figure 76. The visor is worn perpendicular to the roach and extends over the wearer's face.

Trey owns two roaches that were both gifted to him (see Figure 77). He explains how and when he wears them:

> T: The pink one was given to me by a Lakota guy named Scott. And it's made out of porcupine hair and dyed horse hair. It's a yarn base. It's really intricate. This one [white roach] was made by a good friend of mine. For Grass dancers you want a roach that's 22 inches long. So I would put on that one and then I would put on what's called a roach spreader. This one is made specifically to go on that white roach. This was made by a silver smith in Ohio. I like his system where I put my feathers into these two sockets on a fishing swivel and this goes through the fishing swivel so my feathers move … This [feathers in the roach spreader] resembles the eagle in the sky or as clouds in the sky because from far away that's all you see. This is made out of German silver and a welding rod. You put this on top of your hair roach. It clips and they are all made differently.

As described by Trey, roach spreaders are placed on top of the roach so that feathers can be positioned vertically (see Figures 78 & 79). Jeffrey wears a porcupine hair and orange dyed deer tail roach with golden eagle feathers in the spreader. Andy's roach is made of porcupine hair and bald eagle feathers in the spreader. Both Jeffrey and Andy wear a decorative roach pin that is placed horizontally through the roach (see Figures 80 & 81). The pins can serve to secure the roach headdress on the head or can be worn simply as decoration.

Figure 77. Trey owns two roach headdresses. Both were gifted to him.

Figure 78. Trey's roach spreader is made from German silver. This spreader is worn on top of the roach to help keep the hairs separated.

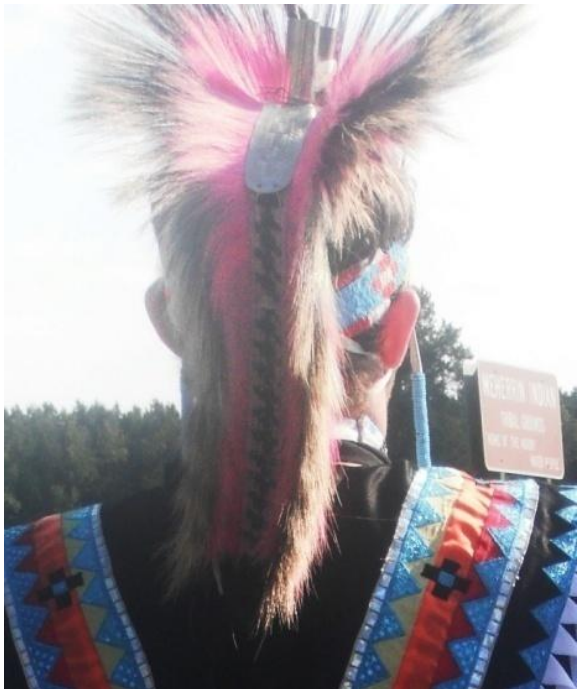

Figure 79. Trey wears the pink roach and silver roach spreader at the Meherrin powwow.

Figure 80. Jeffrey wears an orange roach headdress at the Drums of the Painted Mountain powwow. The horizontal roach pin is decorated with feathers on the tip.

Figure 81. Snow Wolf wears a roach headdress over a bandanna. A decorative roach pin is worn in a horizontal manner across the roach, with decorative feathers and a medicine wheel at the tip.

Turbans and Mandans

Some Northern Men's Traditional dancers wear turbans or similar kinds of headwear as part of their regalia. For example, at certain times both Blackfeather and Lone Wolf wear a form of a turban as part of their regalia (see Figures 82 & 83). The turbans originated with different Southeastern tribes, such as the Cherokee. Lone Wolf explains:

LW: We wore turbans and stuff like that. That's what I had on earlier; a turban. Sequoyah, the one that did all the letters … always got a turban on and a lot of other ones do too.

Figure 82. Lonewolf is wearing a turban resembling those worn by the Cherokee.

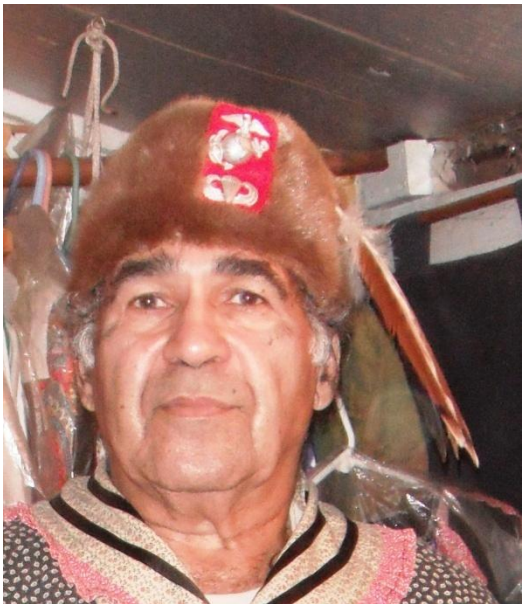

Figure 83. Blackfeather wears a turban made of fur.

At times, Lone Wolf will also wear a feather headdress that originated on the Northern Plains with the Mandan tribe. It consists of a head piece that is covered with turkey feathers (see Figure 84):

> LW: It's [feather headdress] similar to a Mandan. They are really full. A true Mandan has … 650 or 700 feathers. [My Mandan is made from] turkey. I love the turkey because they shine. The smaller feathers look bronze.

Figure 84. Lonewolf wearing his Mandan style headdress decorated with turkey feathers at the Drums of the Painted Mountain powwow.

Hand Held Objects

Dancers carry various objects while they are dancing in the arena. These objects, according to participants, relate to the dance itself as well as communicate aspects of identity. As Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground explains:

TDSTG: I have a medicine bag and I have another little bag made out of a turtle shell that's probably about 60 years old plus. Most of the time, they'll have a knife on them somewhere, both men and women. The knife that I've got, I made it out of an antler and her [his wife] butcher knife. I was on the back porch and had it disassembled before she got home. (see Figure 85)

Figure 85. Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground carries several hand held objects. Including a fan and a dance stick.

Like Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground, Grey Fox makes his own hand held objects, including knives. His dance persona is that of a colonial mixed blood trader so the objects are meant to be functional tools or weapons (see Figure 86). He describes the significance of his handmade knife:

GF: The knife is a deer leg bone. This is a knife like the ladies would have used. It would cut vegetables and it would cut meat. It will not cut through buckskin. You can use it for a skinning knife too. You can get the flesh and everything. The deer provided everything you needed. Your clothes, your shelter, the meat, the jewelry. The reason I made my belt the way I did … I used an entire hide. I got plenty of ties on it. Any of these ties are ready to come off and be used for tying something else. This is actually a triple layer. If I needed extra buckskin, I could use part of the belt and still have a belt.

Figure 86. Greyfox carrying his dance stick decorated with a fox head.

Most of the hand-held objects worn by Northern Men's Traditional dancers represent the weapons that would be used by the warrior during battle or the hunt. For example, they may dance with shields that would have protected them from arrows, war clubs and hatchets that allowed them to strike the enemy up close, or arrows that were shot from bows (see Figures 87 & 88). However, the Northern Men's Traditional dancer will use these objects as part of the dance.

Figure 87. A war club carried by a Northern Men's Traditional dancer.

Figure 88, Lonewolf carries a feather fan and a hatchet while dancing. Photographed at the Yadkin Valley powwow.

Although not weapons, dance sticks have become a modern symbol of the warrior. They are often called "coup sticks" because of their original purpose. During

battle, warriors received honors or coups if they touched an enemy with the stick without harming them. Now they are used in the dance and to tell of a warrior's adventures (see Figure 89). Andy explains:

> A: Men's traditional dancers… we're the warriors. And we'll have a club and most of them will wear a shield and we're actually mimicking the birds that we're wearing. All these birds are predators and they're always hunting. And you'll see as we're dancing we'll move just like a bird will in the sky.

Figure 89. A Northern Men's Traditional dancer carrying a yellow and red dance stick with feathers hanging down.

Grass dancers generally carry objects that are designed to attract attention, such as dance sticks, staffs, or fans. Audience members and judges are meant to notice the

movements of the objects as well as the dancer. Trey describes the handheld objects important to Grass Dance regalia:

> T: My new dance stick comes from when the Men's Traditional dancers used to carry sticks or staffs with eagle feathers on it. Grass dancers can use the dance stick if they want to. The stick just honors the eagle and it can be used in various dance moves. The fan, once again this comes from the Men's Traditional Dance. The fan can come from various feathers, but the eagle wing fan is commonly seen. The fan is used by dancers just like the stick, to catch the spirit of the animal and to honor the animal. The dance hoop is used by Grass dancers to symbolize the history of the dance, when sweet grass was rolled into hoops and danced with. Men's Traditional dancers use it to hang feathers from, and other dangles that the dancer wants to use. (see Figures 90, 91, & 92)

Figure 90. Trey carries this fan while dancing.

Figure 91. Trey might also carry this fur hoop while dancing.

Figure 92. Trey dancing with his fur hoop at the Meherrin powwow.

Face Paint

Among the powwow dancers that I interviewed, only those affiliated with the Eastern Band of the Cherokee tribe wore face paint with their regalia. Interestingly, face paint is not determined by individual choice as much as the other parts of the regalia. That is, tribes require certain colors and patterns that can only be worn by certain members. If someone who is not in the tribe wears these colors and patterns, it is seen as offensive. Designs can be determined by the dancer, but colors are tribal specific. For example, Big Frog describes how he created his signature Cherokee face paint style, as seen in Figure 93:

> BG: Historically for the Cherokee dancers, makeup was decided on through a dream or a dream like experience. All of my buddies that wear makeup, all of us have had a certain experience or a dream where a certain face came to us and that's what we wear. Mine just happens to be the black bar across my eyes, which symbolizes invisibility. You can see everybody else but nobody can see you. Makes you a head hunter. That's where I got that from. But you see that's pretty prominent in Cherokee culture. The white and the black. Sometimes you'll see guys with points that come down from it. I've seen several of the traditional dancers in Cherokee that have that. Another friend of mine has black circles. And then his face is red. So those are examples.

Richard's face paint features black around the eyes with white dots and lines down the cheeks, which, for him, represents the colors of war (see Figure 94). Jeffrey and Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground wear red face paint, which is also a Cherokee war color (see Figures 95 & 96).

Figure 93. Big Frog wears face paint that represents a vision he had in a dream.

Figure 94. Richard wears face paint created with the Cherokee war colors.

Figure 95. Jeffrey wearing face paint at the Drums of the Painted Mountain powwow.

Figure 96. Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground wears face paint at the Occaneechi powwow.

Summary

Participants are aware of the historic origins of the three main powwow dances and associated regalia components, and use this knowledge to create their own particular dress. Whether styles are based on Plains Indian historic dress, Southeastern historic dress, or both, participants describe their regalia based on its historic influence, specific dance, and function within the dance.

This chapter provided detailed description of the regalia components worn for the Northern Men's Traditional Dance, the Grass Dance, and the Fancy Dance. In the next chapter, I examine how participants use their regalia to communicate meanings related to identity in context of the powwow.

CHAPTER V

INTERPRETATION OF MEANING PART I: PERSONAL IDENTITY

According to Stone (1995), an identity is formed when a person participates in a social situation, during which time his or her identity is communicated to others (Roach, Eicher, & Johnson, 1995). The powwow offers a particular type of social situation that allows dancers to communicate dimensions of their identity, whether personal or social. Participants' regalia is comprised of a variety of forms, as described in the previous chapter. These forms reflect Pan-Indian influences as well as elements specific to a dancer's own tribe. However, a dancer also adds individual elements to the regalia. As a result, regalia communicates both personal and social identity; the regalia represent the dancer's tribal and/or Indian identity, while the individual elements added to the regalia reflect aspects of the dancer's personal identity. The latter is explained in this chapter while the former is discussed in full within Chapter VI.

Based on the data, two major themes emerged with respect to personal identity and powwow regalia: *honoring* and *gifting.* That is, for the participant, garments, symbols, or other items are worn either as a means to honor someone/something, or because they were given to him as a gift. As will be discussed, *honoring* includes items worn by participants that are primarily related to spiritual beliefs, loved ones (living and deceased) and experiences with service in the Armed Forces. *Gifting* includes items of significance that were given to the participant by someone else.

Honoring

Spiritual Beliefs

All of the participants explained that they dance in the circle as a means of honoring their spirituality. This spirituality most often reflects elements of Christianity and traditional American Indian spiritualism. Typically, participants use dancing to quietly reflect on their own spirituality; however some deliberately communicate their beliefs through their regalia. Based on the data, several spiritual symbols emerged as prominent within participants' regalia: (1) *the Christian cross*, (2) *the Lakota Sioux four directions*, and (3) *American Indian animal totems*.

The Cross

Among participants, the most common and easily identifiable regalia symbol is the cross. Because spirituality is a very personal aspect of one's life, displaying it on one's regalia suggests to others that it is integral to who one is. It is most often used by participants to proclaim their Christianity. For example, Jeffrey explains his reasons for the prominent use of the cross symbol on his Northern Men's Traditional Dance regalia (see Figures 97 & 98):

> J: The center [of the breastplate] is a cross because I'm a born again Christian and a chaplain at Raceway Ministries at Bristol Motor Speedway. I get kids to say what they see in my beadwork then I can talk about carrying the cross with me all the time because I am a born again Christian. I also have crosses on my trailers that hang below my bustle.

Figure 97. The center of Jeffrey's breastplate features a beaded blue cross inside white beads.

Figure 98. Jeffrey's trailers feature white crosses that represent his Christian beliefs.

Thus Jeffrey not only uses his regalia to communicate his spirituality but he also uses it to engage others in dialogue about his personal identity. Because so much of Jeffrey's life outside of the powwow is based on his faith, it is important that he clearly displays this in his dance regalia.

Ben also uses the cross to represent his spirituality, but because he is a Fancy dancer, his regalia features a much more stylized version of the symbol. His headband and armbands display a red cross overlaying four yellow triangles (see Figure 99). According to Ben, American Indians have historically used a symbol resembling a cross to represent peace. For Ben, the use of the cross on his regalia represents peace first and his Christian faith second.

Figure 99. Ben's Fancy Dance regalia has yellow and red stylized crosses on the headband and catawbas.

Like Ben and Jeffrey, Trey uses the cross to express his personal identity through faith. He explains what the cross means in his regalia:

> T: The main symbol in the middle [of beadwork] is a cross which represents the sun in different native tribes, and it also represents Christ in my life. So the design represents the sun rising and setting. It also represents Christ's influence in my life. (see Figures 100 & 101)

As both Ben and Trey explain, the shape of the cross can also be used as a celestial or peace symbol by powwow participants.

Figure 100. Trey's Grass Dance regalia's beadwork features a black cross with a blue center.

Figure 101. A close-up of Trey's beadwork with a black and blue cross in the center.

Many dancers incorporate some variation of the Christian cross within their regalia. For example, I observed Northern Men's Traditional dancers, Fancy dancers, as well as Grass dancers displaying the symbol. Northern Men's Traditional dancers usually wear the cross symbol on ribbon shirts or vests, aprons, collars, and armbands (see Figures 102 & 103). As seen in Figure 104, Grass dancers will wear the symbols on their aprons, armbands, and wristbands. As seen on Ben in Figure 99, most Fancy dancers wear the cross on their Catawbas (see also Figure 105).

Figure 102. A Northern Men's Traditional dancer with orange crosses on his shirt sleeves and black crosses on his apron.

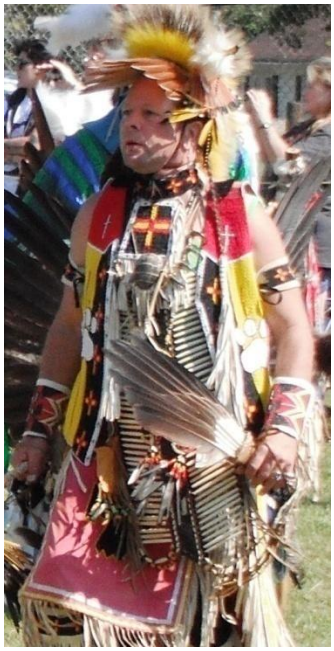

Figure 103. A Northern Men's Traditional dancer at the Cabarrus powwow wearing cross symbols on his choker, vest, and his arm bands.

Figure 104. A Grass dancer at the Cabarrus powwow displays cross symbols on his apron and side tabs.

Figure 105. Two Fancy Dance participants at the Cherokee powwow have cross symbols on their Catawbas (arm bands).

The Four Directions

As Trey mentioned, the cross is used as a celestial symbol by some American Indians. Big Frog explains that when it is used with traditional Plains Indian symbols, the cross represents meanings other than those of the Christian faith:

> BF: The medicine wheel is sometimes thought of as a Christian cross in the center. This is a recent thing. Some natives think of it that way because many are Christian now. The medicine wheel is much older than that. This symbol that you see people wearing on their regalia is a symbol of the original wheels that were made on the ground with rocks. This was done for ceremonial reasons. Each of the four corners represents the four directions. North, South, East, and West. Each of these directions also stands for other aspects of life. They are also represented by four colors as well, black, white, red & yellow. To some, they represent the four seasons. In other words, that is not a Christian Cross in the middle.

Many participants displayed spiritual beliefs through the use of Plains Indian symbols that represent the four directions or seasons. As mentioned by Big Frog, these symbols include the medicine wheel and colors. The circle or sacred hoop and the cross shape are also representative of the four directions. According to Young (2002) the four cardinal directions (North, South, East, and West) are "prominent in most Native American traditions as a way of understanding the structure of the cosmos" (p. 6). The Lakota Sioux cosmology or the Sioux origins and fate of the universe are described by Young (2002):

> The Lakota universe consists of four levels: sky, the place between the sky and clouds, the earth, and the underworld … The Lakota concept of the structure of the cosmos is perhaps best expressed in the image of a "sacred hoop," which is typically symbolized as a circle inscribed by a cross. The cross symbolizes the four winds or directions … the circle has no end: The Power of the World always works in circles, and everything tries to be round … On the plains the Lakota home, the tipi, also manifested the circle symbolism. Viewed from above, a tipi forms a circle, in which the crossed poles mark a center, with the four cardinal directions manifested. (p. 187 – 188)

The four directions are, first and foremost, represented by specific colors. These colors are black for West, white for North, yellow for East, and red for the South. Each direction also has different attributes related to its place in the universe. As seen in Figure 106, the four directions express the four aspects of life, animals significant to these aspects of life, and medicine or herbs used in ceremonies to celebrate each aspect of life. In order to achieve balance in life, powwow participants wear the four colors together on their regalia. As seen in Figures 107, 108, and 109, participants wear the four directional colors on different regalia components.

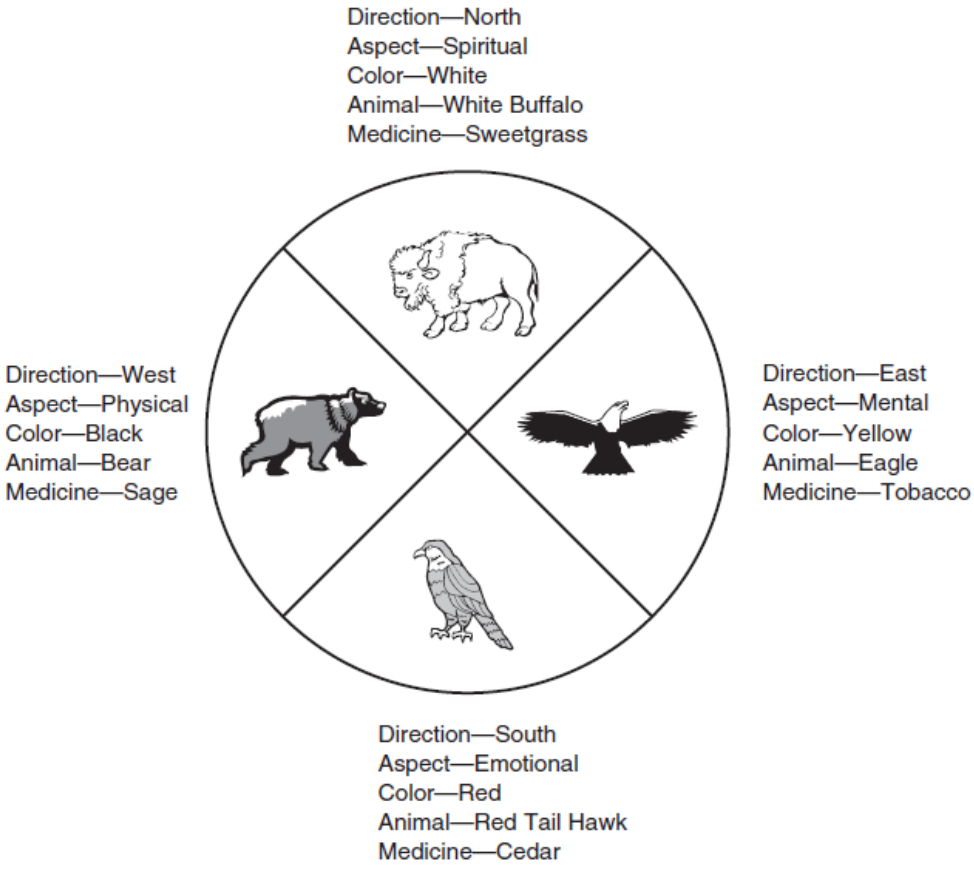

Figure 106. The four directions and their attributes.

Figure 107. The four colors shown on a bustle. Photographed at the American Indian Cultural Association powwow.

Figure 108. The four colors worn on a ribbon shirt. Photographed at the Cabarrus powwow.

Figure 109. A bustle featuring yellow, red, black, and white. Photographed at the Foothills powwow.

Some participants express their spirituality by wearing the directions and colors in the form of the medicine wheel on their regalia. As mentioned earlier, the circle and the cross shapes are both featured in the medicine wheel. Rybak and Decker-Fitts (2009) describe how the four directions are integrated into the medicine wheel:

> The basis of the Medicine Wheel is a circle. The Medicine Wheel serves to orient one according to the cardinal directions as well as within the many aspects of life associated with the different directions. The circle encloses a cross that forms the four spokes of the wheel, with each spoke pointing to a different direction. There may be variations by tribe with respect to the particular associations made with each direction … The Medicine Wheel serves as a reminder that all aspects of life are important and need to be balanced. If important aspects of life are ignored, life will be unbalanced and more difficult. (p. 335)

As seen in Figures 110, 111, and 112, the medicine wheel is worn by participants on hand held items and side tabs. Figure 113 shows another dancer integrating the four directions and respective colors on his bustle.

Figure 110. A medicine wheel on a war shield.

Figure 111. A Fancy dancer with a medicine wheel on his side tabs.

Figure 112: A medicine wheel on a war shield.

Figure 113. A dancer wearing the four directional colors on his bustle.

Spirtuality is an important part of the personal identity of powwow participants. Whether they are wearing symbols directly related to a specific religion such as the Christian cross, or wearing a Pan-Indian symbol of balance like the medicine wheel with

its four directions and specific colors, powwow participants use their regalia to communicate what is important in their personal lives.

Animal Totems

Many powwow participants display their spiritual beliefs through animal motifs. Sometimes these animal motifs are expressions of specific animal totems. According to Steiger (1997), "Among the Medicine teachings of the traditional Native Americans, the totem represents the physical form of one's spirit helper, his or her guardian or guide" (p. 4). These guardians and guides usually take the form of a spirit animal. An individual may have more than one spirit animal in his life, as they are animals that one is drawn to through physical or spiritual contact. An individual might see a specific animal in a dream or feel close to an animal because of its particular traits or characteristics (Bobb, 2013). In *Animal Speak: The Spiritual & Magical Powers of Creatures Great & Small* (1993), Andrews explains the basics of animal totems: "They are called spirit animals, power animals, totem helpers and others. Regardless of how people refer to them, certain beliefs are common, including

1. Every animal has a powerful spirit.
2. This spirit may be its own, or that of a being who uses the animal image to communicate messages of the world to humans.
3. Every animal has its own talents.
4. Lifelong power animals are usually wild, not domesticated, animals.
5. The animal chooses the person, not the other way around.
6. You must develop a relationship with your totem.
7. You must honor your totem for its medicine to be effective in your life." (p. 10)

Powwow participants honor their animal totems by wearing symbols of these animals on their regalia or attaching the actual animals to their regalia. They might also incorporate their animal totems or spirit animals into their American Indian name, as Greyfox has done:

> GF: I'm Greyfox. I've always had an affinity for the fox. Your spirit animals are animals that when you look deep inside yourself, you'll realize an animal that you've always had an affinity for. You've always identified with. Those are your spirit animals. You can refine that. As far as the canine, I'm not a pack animal. I'm not like a wolf or a dog. I have more affinity for cats than I do dogs. As far as a canine, the fox is my animal. The grey fox is indigenous to North Carolina. The red fox is an English fox. They were brought in for fox hunting. And when you have the grey mixing with the red because they will interbreed, that's the fox that got away from the fox hunter. You can look inside yourself and see the traits/animals that you have always subconsciously admired and seek to emulate. These are your spirit animals. Our regalia honors these animals and also shows others much about the traits that we strive to attain.

Greyfox's powwow regalia is based on that of a trader of the 1700s. As grey foxes are indigenous to North Carolina and red foxes were introduced at that time by European fox hunters, Greyfox has incorporated both grey and red foxes as well as a white fox into his regalia. According to Andrews (1993), the fox "is a totem that speaks of the need to develop or the awakening of camouflage, invisibility, and shapeshifting" (p. 271). Greyfox is admittedly a loner who prefers to wear regalia that would allow him to be camouflaged in the wilderness of the North Carolina piedmont circa 1700. His choice of the fox as an animal totem directly relates to his persona as a trader. The fox also embodies his spiritual closeness with nature. Because of the complexity of Greyfox's personal and spiritual relationship with the fox, the animal is a vital component of his regalia (see Figures 114 & 115).

Figure 114. Greyfox wears fox heads on his hat and his belt.

Figure 115. Greyfox wears a white fox head on his belt.

While Greyfox wears actual foxes on his regalia, other powwow participants choose to honor their spirit animals by adding appliquéd, embroidered, or painted symbols of their totems on their regalia. For example, Snow Wolf's regalia features a white wolf embroidered on the front of his apron and the back of his vest (see Figures 116 & 117). According to Steiger (1997), "If the wolf has been designated as your totem animal through dreams or vision quest, be assured that you have a spirit helper that will always back you up, regardless of the consequences. This totem guide is known for its extraordinary powers of endurance, and it will willingly grant those strengths to you" (p. 221).

Figure 116. Snow Wolf wears a white wolf on the front of his apron.

Figure 117. Snow Wolf wears a white wolf on the back of his vest.

Loved Ones

Participants often use elements of their regalia to honor others, in as much as they dance not just for those they love, but they also display a part of their loved ones through their regalia. Most often, those honored are still alive. Other times, loved ones are deceased and are honored through aspects of the dancer's regalia. For example, Ben's grandfather passed away a short time before I interviewed him at the American Indian Cultural Association powwow. To honor his grandfather and their relationship, Ben wore his grandfather's yellow dress shirt under his regalia. This shirt is just a regular men's shirt, but when Ben wears it with his regalia it becomes a symbol of his grandfather as well as Ben's ties to the rest of his family.

Like Ben, Jeffrey's regalia honors someone who has passed away. However while Ben had a relationship with his grandfather, Jeffrey barely knew his father. He explains:

J: The beaded plate here. Something that I always keep with me all the time. My father got killed when I was two. This was his badge when he was working. It was in the car with him when a drunk driver hit him. And he's with me all the time when I'm dancing. That pouch has things in it that belonged to my father. I didn't get them until I was 20, 21. [When] he got killed when I was two … my mom gave me away. So I never grew up with the heritage, I had to wait until I was out of school. (see Figure 118)

Figure 118. Jeffrey's brown leather pouch. Seen on the right, the pouch holds items that belonged to his father. He also wears his father's work badge inside his vest.

Grey Fox uses his Southeastern Woodlands regalia to honor many of his loved ones, both living and deceased. As he explained, his regalia represents the dress of a mixed blood trader of the mid 1700s. Because he chooses to emulate a type of historic figure, he does not display the honors as a major part of his regalia, as Jeffrey does with his pouch. Instead, Grey Fox collects small mementos of clothing from loved ones and

attaches them inconspicuously to his buckskin (see Figures 119 & 120). He describes some of these honors:

> GF: Everything has significance. This was when we brought our granddaughter into the circle when she was 11 days old. This is material from the little dress we made for her. The peach that Becky's [his wife] wearing now, that was her wedding dress. This is a strip from that. This was the sweatband that Becky's mom always wore in the garden. Now that she's in extended care, I dance this to pray for her recovery. She's 95. This is a little sadder. My nephew's nephew was killed in a car crash and this is part of the shirt that he was wearing. I and Becky both carry a piece more for his mother's healing and his sister more than anything else.

Figure 119. Some of Greyfox's honors. *Note*: Photograph by Greyfox.

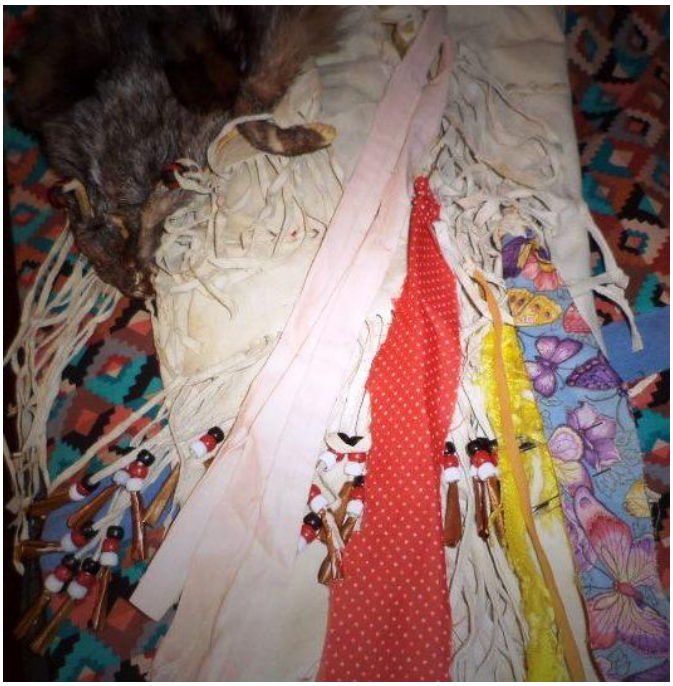

Figure 120. More examples of Greyfox's honors. *Note:* Photograph taken by Greyfox.

Of the items depicted in Figure 119, the green yarn in the upper left corner is the last yarn crocheted by Greyfox's mother; the patchwork piece represents his youth and his hippie days; the long green fabric strip in the bottom of the picture is part of the shirt his nephew's nephew was wearing when he died; and underneath that is his mother-in-law's white sweatband. In Figure 120, the long peach strips in the center of the photograph are from Greyfox's wife's wedding dress. The red polka dotted strip is from his wife's former powwow regalia, the yellow strip is from his wife's first regalia, and the butterfly print strip is from his granddaughter's first regalia. The black, red, and white beads represent Greyfox's tri-racial background. Combined, these items help Greyfox to communicate who he is apart from being a dancer. Each represents a special relationship that he has with a loved one. After talking to him at many powwows throughout the data

collection process, I discovered that his calm, quiet demeanor belies his storytelling abilities. Greyfox explained to me that the items that he attaches to his regalia are part of his mixed blood (white, black, and American Indian) ancestry. He wears them not only to honor each individual but to continue a long-held tradition among black slaves.

> GF: All this is in the tradition of the ….. Black slaves. They had a story keeper who was called the rag man. He was a free black who would go from plantation to plantation. He would listen to the stories and the ladies would rip off a strip of cloth and he would add it to his regalia and he would keep all the oral stories. So everything that I wear has a story.

As with spiritual beliefs, powwow participants express their relationships with loved ones through their regalia. By honoring loved ones, both alive and deceased, participants can be close to their family and friends through elements of their regalia. These elements are very personal and placed where others may not even notice them.

Service in the Armed Forces

During data collection it became quite obvious that Veterans of the Armed Forces are honored repeatedly at powwows. Ceremonies and tributes showcase veterans from all wars and branches of the military, as well as honor those who are related to veterans. The American Indian identity is significantly influenced by the warrior image, and this image is represented by today's veterans. Although the American Indian identity of the warrior and its relationship to the veteran will be discussed further in the next chapter, in the following section I explore how participants display their personal experiences in the Armed Forces through their regalia. Such experiences are communicated through specific symbols as well as specific elements of dress, such as the veteran sash.

Veteran Sash

A major component of a veteran's powwow regalia is often his or her veteran sash. I observed that the sash can either be worn as side tabs, as shown in Figure 121, or around the neck as in Figure 122. Veterans wear sashes that display patches and ribbons related to active service and retirement. Those who have been wounded, killed, or missing in battle may also be honored with patches.

Figure 121. A dancer at the Cherokee powwow wearing side tabs adorned with the American flag along with trailers featuring the eagle symbol of the United States Marine Corps.

Figure 122. A dancer at the Occaneechi powwow wearing his veteran sash around his neck.

Lonewolf wears a veteran sash that features patches from different battles that he fought in (see Figure 123, 124 & 125). As a former Marine, wearing this sash while dancing allows him to visually communicate his time in combat to others. He also uses his sash to express the part of his personal identity that remains a warrior. Lonewolf describes the significance of one of the patches on his sash:

L: United States Marine Corps. This right here. Tiet – that was one of the worst years. Khe Sanh, that's the worst battle because we were under siege for 77 days. January to April. We had no water and we had one meal a day. We had to either be in bunkers or trench line almost all the time because anytime we got above ground, we got shelled … My bunker got hit 6 times. Two bunkers away it was 5 layers of sandbag. Artillery shell went through and killed 4 guys … Because we couldn't go out. I mean we was pinned. They passed the word down that the guy beside you, if you run, kill them … Main thing is try to stay there and fight. Because there really is nowhere to run. We was all the way up north in North Vietnam and near Laos, over in the upper corner. It was nasty.

Figure 123. Lonewolf's red veteran sash with patches.

Figure 124. Close-up of one of the patches

Figure 125. Another patch.
on Lonewolf's veteran sash.
Source: http://www.4armedforces.com/product/6020_FL1098/Survivor-1968-Tet-Offensive-Patch.html

Don also served in the Vietnam War, and retired from the United States Marine Corps after 22 years of service. He describes his sash:

> D: You probably saw when I came in that I had a veteran's sash. The red sash. It's got all the places that I served at. It's got my rank and my ribbons on the other side. This is starting with Vietnam. I came in right at the very end of Vietnam. That's what these patches are for. And I ended up with Desert Storm. I was in avionics. The rest of this is the commands that I work for. Ribbons and ranks.

Don explained that his sash was highly decorated because of his long service in the Marine Corps (see Figures 126 & 127). Many of the veteran sashes seen at powwows are from those who served much less time in the military. Because of his lengthy military career, Don's veteran sash represents a very important part of his life and thus is a significant aspect of his personal identity as seen through his regalia.

Figure 126. Don wearing his veteran sash.

Figure 127. Close up of a patch from Don's veteran sash. Source: http://www.priorservice.com/f4phvipa.html

American Flag

Lonewolf served in the Armed Forces for thirteen months during the Vietnam War. After several conversations, it became clear that the time he spent in the service forms an important part of who he is. Lonewolf chooses to wear regalia composed of various configurations of Plains Indian, Eastern Woodlands, and Cherokee influences, but one constant that is always visible is his experience as a veteran. For instance, he might wear red, white, and blue to represent the flag (see Figure 128). Likewise, other dancers communicate their service through the wearing of the American flag (see Figures 129 & 130). Lonewolf explains why he wears the colors of the American flag:

> L: I wear red, white, and blue. That's for the United States. I fought for the flag. I honor the flag. I spent 13 months fighting for the cause. I'm still patriotic. Of course, we [pre-contact Cherokee] didn't wear something like that, but I'm a warrior so...I'm proud to serve my country.

Figure 128. Lonewolf wearing his red, white, and blue ribbon shirt.

Figure 129. A Northern Men's Traditional dancer at the Strong Sun powwow. He wears several variations of the American flag.

Figure 130. A veteran wearing an American flag shirt during a Grand Entry.

Clearly, much like the Armed Forces experience, each dancer integrates the flag in his own unique way, whether through colors, prints, or beadwork. Taking pride in having served the United States is something that many participants, and powwow dancers in general, seek to communicate through dress. Similar to spiritual beliefs and connections to loved ones, being a veteran is a significant part of who they are as individuals.

Gifting

Like honoring, gifting allows participants to express their personal identity through items worn as part of their regalia. However, among participants, these gifts

usually involve items that are more typical regalia components (rather than strips of cloth) and are often given to the dancer to enhance his existing regalia. For example, Trey received a pink porcupine roach as a gift (see Figures 131 & 132). He explains how the roach became a part of his personal identity as a dancer as well as what it means to him as an American Indian:

> T: The pink one was given to me by a Lakota guy named Scott … He's a really respected guy around North Carolina in the powwow world. He's one of my Grass Dance mentors. He's danced at all these big time powwows that I haven't danced at yet and he's just a really humble guy. He's really done a lot for me. He saw me and I didn't have a roach. I've known him for a year. He just came up to me with the roach and said, "Here you go." I'm going to give it to my son or another Grass dancer. That's what you do as a native person, you give. You don't give until it hurts but we're here to help everybody. So that's why we give. That's what I really love about our people.

Figure 131. Trey's pink porcupine roach.

Figure 132. Trey wearing his pink porcupine roach at the Meherrin powwow.

Jeffrey's regalia includes several components that were gifted to him. For example, a pair of elk hide leggings has special meaning for him because they were given to him by his adopted Comanche mother. He also carries a dance stick that features a beaded rosette that was given to him by a tribal elder. The elder passed away last summer so he keeps the rosette on the stick as a way to honor her (see Figure 133).

Figure 133. Jeffrey wearing the elk hide leggings and carrying a dance stick. The dance stick features a blue rosette given to him by a tribal elder.

Jeffrey was also gifted with a headband that actually has a fairly famous reputation (see Figures 134 & 135). He explains how he acquired this particular headband:

> J: The headband that I wear is actually on the cover of a Time Life book called *Indians of the Eastern Woodlands* and the original owners who lived in Oklahoma have it on the cover of that book. I was at a powwow in Knoxville and a guy hollered at me "Hey come here, I've got something for you." I said, "What?" He pulled that head band out and said "This matches your regalia. I know you can wear it. All we Cherokees have got the same size head." And he gave it to me. It's very old, that headband is. That's what I tell everybody, it's really cool when you go to a powwow because you see a lot of dancers over and over and over again. And you become like family and a lot of times we'll just give each other something. You know, "That'll look good with your regalia. Here take this."

Figure 134. Jeffrey wearing the gifted headband at the Drums of the Painted Mountain powwow in Virginia.

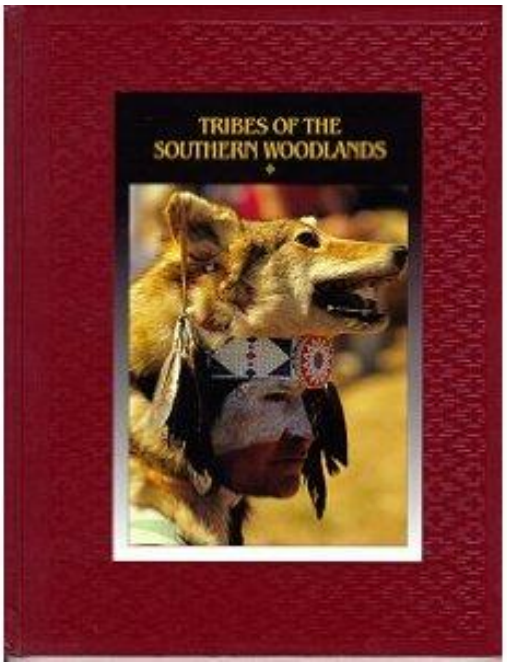

Figure 135. The cover of the book featuring Jeffrey's headband. *Source:* http://www.amazon.com/Southern-Woodlands-American-Indians-Time-Life/dp/0809495511

Like Jeffrey, Lonewolf acquired a unique headpiece known as a Mandan through the powwow circuit. Interestingly, when Lonewolf showed it to me, I realized that I had already taken a photograph of it being worn by its original owner before he gifted it to Lonewolf (see Figure 136). During the process of collecting data, I observed only about half a dozen Mandan headdresses being worn by powwow participants, therefore the Mandan headdress appears to be somewhat unique among North Carolina American Indians. Lonewolf is known for changing his powwow regalia regularly, therefore he values the headdress for its uniqueness, as it fits with his ever-changing dance persona (see Figures 137 & 138).

Figure 136. The original creator and owner of the Mandan type headdress. This photograph was taken at a powwow during preliminary research.

Figure 137. Lonewolf wearing the Mandan headdress at the Yadkin Valley powwow.

Figure 138. Lonewolf wearing the Mandan headdress at the Drums of the Painted Mountain powwow.

Whether acquired as gifts or used to honor aspects of one's personal identity, all participants communicate something unique about themselves through their regalia. As Trey explains, because dancing is personal, a dancer's personal identity is reflected in regalia as much as his tribal or cultural identity:

> T: Something in your regalia has to be you just because of your family or something that you hold dear to yourself. Your regalia is a reflection of your soul. For me as an individual and to represent my people, I dance… I was brought up with that traditional view of things. You dance from your soul, you dance for your creator, you dance for healing, and you dance for other people. It's basically doing for others and for you.

As participants explained throughout this chapter, while certain styles of regalia may be particular to a certain dance, regalia can also be unique to each person, as items can hold meaning important to understanding who that dancer is as an individual. Honoring one's spiritual beliefs, loved ones, and service in the Armed Forces is often done by participants through their regalia. Moreover, these items take on significance for communicating the individual's identity as a dancer. For example, by participating in a powwow, a veteran of the Armed Forces can express the warrior dimensions of his identity. Those in mourning can honor loved ones who have personally influenced them in some way. Others dance with regalia components given to them by people who have had a positive impact on their lives. Although powwows are social events used to express tribal and American Indian identity, as this chapter has revealed, there is much about the dress that expresses the uniqueness of the individual.

Summary

In this chapter I provided an interpretation of powwow regalia relative to personal identity. Spiritual beliefs, relationships with loved ones, and service in the armed forces surfaced as the primary ways participants expressed dimensions of personal identity through their regalia. In the next chapter, I focus on the interpretation of the different aspects of tribal and cultural identity communicated by participants via their powwow dress.

CHAPTER VI

INTERPRETATION OF MEANING PART II: TRIBAL AND AMERICAN INDIAN IDENTITY

As discussed in Chapter V, powwow participants express their personal identity by integrating honor items into their powwow regalia. Personal identity can also be represented by wearing items that were received as gifts. Through honoring and gifting, participants use regalia to communicate who they are as individuals. Yet powwow participants also talked about how elements of their powwow regalia communicate social identity, in as much as it can be used to express their identity as a member of a tribe and as an American Indian in general.

This chapter provides an interpretation of participants' use of regalia to proclaim their local, regional, and national American Indian identity. Three primary themes emerged during data analysis that provide deeper insight into local/tribal identity: (1) *clan identification*, (2) *warrior status*, and (3) *Eastern Woodlands influences*. Themes pertaining to American Indian identity that emerged include: (1) *spiritual beliefs,* (2) *Pan-Indianism,* and (3) *warrior status*.

Tribal Identity

According Mihesuah (1999), tribal identity can be described as giving "the individual a sense of a common past and of a shared destiny" (p. 14). Members of a tribe are united by a shared history. As discussed in Chapter II, state-recognized tribes in North

Carolina were assimilated into European-American society very early, and as a result, lost most of their tribal history. As these local tribes are still piecing together information about their tribe's past, participants who are members do not generally use regalia to communicate tribal affiliation in a recognizable way. However, powwow participants who are members of the Cherokee tribe, the one federally-recognized tribe in North Carolina, do use regalia to communicate tribal identity. Members of the Eastern Band of the Cherokee Indians (EBCI) do this by wearing symbols indicating affiliation with specific tribal clans, including: (a) *Bird Clan*, (b) *Wolf Clan*, (c) *Deer Clan*, and (d) *Paint Clan*. Powwow participants who are members of the EBCI also indicated tribal affiliation by communicating their warrior status through: (a) *Tribal Colors* and (b) *Face Paint*. Powwow participants also used regional Eastern Woodlands dress to express their tribal identity. Clan affiliation, warrior status, and the influence of Eastern Woodlands dress are discussed in turn in the following sections.

Clans

Participants who are members of the EBCI tribe decorate their regalia with symbols that declare their clan membership. There are a total of seven Cherokee clans: (1) *Deer*, (2) *Wolf*, (3) *Bird*, (4) *Long Hair*, (5) *Paint*, (6) *Blue*, and (7) *Wild Potato* (Bloom, 1939). According to Chambers (2010), "Cherokee clans were matrilineal, that is, membership in a clan was based on a descent system traced solely through women to a single clan progenitor" (p. 94). That is, a man marries into his wife's clan and becomes part of the wife's extended family. Thus, many powwow participants display the clan symbols of their wives. Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground explains:

> TDSTG: Cherokee did have tattoos so those represent the clans. The birds from the Bird Clan, that's where the thunderbird comes from … Well, you've got several different clans so you've got several different things that would relate to that. Like a bird, the Wolf Clan, the Deer Clan, the Long Hair so depending on what can you are in, the symbols you would have on your regalia. Like the wolf and stuff, like the wolf paw. You marry into your wife's clan so I'm in the Wolf Clan.

As Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground described, different clans represent different aspects of Cherokee life. Based on the observation data, the clan symbols worn by dancers at powwows were primarily those of the three animal/bird clans: bird clan, deer clan, and wolf clan. However, I discovered that several participants also belong to the other Cherokee clans, such as the Paint Clan and the Long Hair Clan. Not all participants use regalia to represent their clan membership. Jeffrey is one of the few participants who honors all seven of the clans and does so in the beading on his breastplate (see Figure 139).

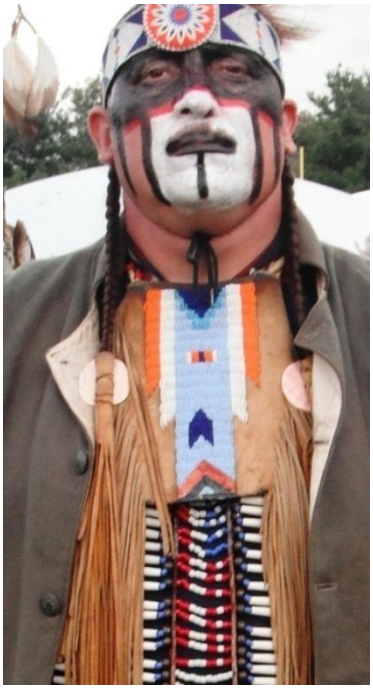

Figure 139. The seven white beads in the upper right corner of Jeffrey's breastplate represent the seven clans of the Eastern Band of the Cherokee Indian tribe.

Bird Clan

Bird symbolism is important within the EBCI. The bird clan represents the keeper of the birds and feathers. Members of this clan were usually bird hunters and messengers. One of the key bird symbols, the thunderbird, not only represents the bird clan of the Cherokee, it also holds an important place in Cherokee folklore. The thunderbird's name comes from the belief that the large bird creates thunder when it beats its wings. The bird is also a symbol of war and strength (Alchin, 2013). I observed thunderbird symbols only among powwow participants who were wearing traditional regalia. The birds were displayed as tattoos, on bustles and aprons, and on war shields. Because of the bird's imagery as a powerful thunder-making animal, it is used by traditional powwow

participants to showcase their power as dancers and warriors (see Figures 140, 141, & 142).

Figure 140. Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground at the Occaneechi powwow wearing his bustle featuring a thunderbird in the center.

Figure 141. Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground has a thunderbird tattoo representing the bird clan on his lower arm.

Figure 142. A Cherokee tribe member wears an apron depicting a thunderbird at the Yadkin Valley powwow.

Deer Clan

Among the Cherokee, the Deer Clan is responsible for hunting and tracking deer as well as tanning deer hides. Like the deer, members of this clan are fast runners. Among this clan, deer tracks are used to symbolize swiftness, gentleness and grace (Alchin, 2013). Unlike the thunderbird symbol, I observed both traditional dancers and Fancy dancers wearing regalia that featured deer tracks. Fancy dancers may wear the deer tracks to show their agility because of the dance's particularly quick movements. Other

dancers may be expressing their spirituality in relation to the peace symbolized by the gentle deer. Finally, the dancer might also be communicating his prowess as a deer hunter and hide processor (see Figures 143, 144 & 145).

Figure 143. A Northern Men's Traditional dancer displays deer tracks on the side tabs while dancing at the Cherokee powwow.

Figure 144. A Fancy dancer displays deer tracks on his yoke at the Cherokee powwow.

Figure 145. A powwow participant wearing deer tracks on the yoke and a deer figure on the apron.

Wolf Clan

The Wolf Clan was the largest of the Cherokee clans and remains so today. Most warriors and war chiefs came from the Wolf Clan. Wolf Clan members are the protectors of the Cherokee people and the wolf, and were the only Cherokees allowed to kill the wolf for any reason (Alchin, 2013). As with the thunderbird symbol, I observed the sign of the wolf only on traditional regalia (see Figures 146, 147, & 148). Like the thunderbird, wolf tracks typically signify power and warrior status. However wolf tracks can also signify that the wearer is a protector of some sort, such as having served in the military or as a member of a police or fire department.

Figure 146. A member of the Cherokee tribe wearing wolf tracks on his vest at the Yadkin Valley powwow.

Figure 147. A Northern Men's Traditional dancer at the Cherokee powwow wears regalia that includes wolf tracks on the yoke.

Figure 148. A Northern Men's Traditional dancer displays wolf tracks on his vest and bustle trailers at the Cherokee powwow.

Paint Clan

Big Frog is a member of the paint clan. This clan is also called the Red Paint Clan because of the color of paint typically used for ceremonial practices. The members of the Paint Clan were the medicine men or healers. They "painted" on medicine with brushes and made paint for ceremonies. For example, Big Frog describes the use of the color red:

BF: This clan was originally made up of people that made the red paint exclusively that were used for ceremonies. This clan is made up of teachers and those who heal others. I have always worn a red scarf with my traditional Plains outfit as homage to the clan. (see Figure 149)

Figure 149. Big Frog wears a red scarf around his neck to honor the paint clan.

Since the EBCI have a rich knowledge of their tribal history, they have been able to create cultural signifiers that can be identified through their powwow regalia. It is easy to recognize that a dancer is a Cherokee if he is wearing face paint and clan symbols. He is readily identifiable to others as a Cherokee because of the tribal symbolism. Other North Carolina tribes do not have these uniform tribal signifiers and rely much more on Pan-Indian or regional Eastern Woodlands regalia to express their identity. Because of the tribal symbols available to the EBCI, they can also express their status within the tribe through items worn as part of their regalia.

Warrior Status

As discussed in Chapter V, taking pride in having been or being a warrior is extremely important among powwow participants. Indeed, many participants are veterans of the Armed Forces, while others have or continue to serve in some protective capacity. Others might have experienced a trauma at some point and fought through it as a warrior. Warrior members of the EBCI use traditional tribal identity markers to display their pride. While collecting data, I learned that powwow participants who are members of the Eastern Band of the Cherokee Indian tribe typically display this status and do so through face paint as well as specific colors.

Colors

According to Richard, among the EBCI the colors of black and red are the colors of war:

> R: My breechcloth is my Cherokee colors, which of course is black and red for the colors of war. And my makeup usually has the black stripes with red markings on your face. And that shows the color of war.

For Richard, the colors of red and black combine to represent the Cherokee warrior ideal of strength and power. Red is the color of violence, blood, and confrontation. The color red also represents energy. Black is the color of living and represents victory as well as power and aggression (Alchin, 2013). While collecting data, I observed many powwow participants wearing black and red regalia, however in all cases they were wearing traditional styles of dress (see Figures 150, 151 & 152).

Figure 150. Richard wearing a black and red apron. Photographed at the Drums of the Painted Mountain powwow.

Figure 151. Big Frog wears side tabs and bustle trailers. Both include the Cherokee colors of war.

Figure 152. A member of the Eastern Band of the Cherokee Indian tribe wears regalia featuring the traditional war colors of the Cherokee.

Many powwow participants carried hand-held items that also featured war colors. Such items are typically related to battle in some way. For example, several dancers carried war shields that feature black and red as well as the thunderbird symbol (see Figures 153 & 154). Historically, shields were used for protection during battle. Other powwow participants like Richard and Lonewolf carry a black and red painted war club (see Figure 155). The war club was originally used to strike enemies in the head during

battle. Both the wearing of the Cherokee war colors and the carrying of weapons communicates the powwow participant's tribal identity as a Cherokee warrior.

Figure 153. A Northern Men's Traditional dancer carries a war shield. The shield features war colors and a thunderbird symbol.

Figure 154. A Northern Men's Traditional dancer carries a black and red painted war shield at the Cherokee powwow.

Figure 155. Richard and Lonewolf both carry red and black war clubs at the Drums of the Painted Mountain powwow.

Face Paint

Along with wearing the traditional Cherokee colors of war, powwow participants may also use face paint to communicate warrior status. Historically, face paint was worn by American Indian warriors to intimidate enemies during battle, (i.e., war paint), but they also used certain colors and patterns on the face to mentally prepare themselves for battle. For example, the medicine man of the tribe might pick a certain face paint to apply to a warrior to give him specific powers or attributes (Alchin, 2013). Today, powwow participants usually choose face paint patterns and colors that signify their Cherokee tribal identity, but as discussed in Chapter IV, Big Frog (see Figure 156) explains that there may be a variety of reasons behind the choice:

> BF: Historically for the Cherokee dancers, makeup was decided on through a dream or a dream like experience. All of my buddies that wear makeup, all of us have had a certain experience or a dream where a certain face came to us and that's what we wear. Mine just happens to be the black bar across my eyes, which symbolizes invisibility. You can see everybody else but nobody can see you. Makes you a headhunter. That's where I got that from. But you see that's pretty prominent in Cherokee culture. The white and the black. Sometimes you'll see guys with points that come down from it. I've seen several of the traditional dancers in Cherokee that have that. Another friend of mine has black circles. And then his face is red.

Figure 156. Big Frog wearing his "invisibility" face paint.

The face paint colors most commonly observed were black, red, and white (see Figures 157 & 158). According to participants, these are the colors of war. Red signifies blood, fighting, and violence. Black symbolizes aggressiveness and war preparation. White face paint can represent the act of mourning or even the desire for peace (Forum Biodiversity, 2013). Powwow participants wore different combinations of black, red, and white, but the most prominent design included lines painted down the cheeks. As pointed out in Chapter IV, Richard, Jeffrey, and Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground all wear this style of face paint in some variation (see Figures 159, 160 & 161). According to participants, the lines signify the warrior's tears as they fall over comrades killed in battle. Richard's face paint also features a black "mask" around his eyes, a sign of anonymity or invisibility (see Figure 159).

Figure 157. A Cherokee powwow participant wearing face paint.

Figure 158. A Strong Sun powwow participant wearing black and white face paint.

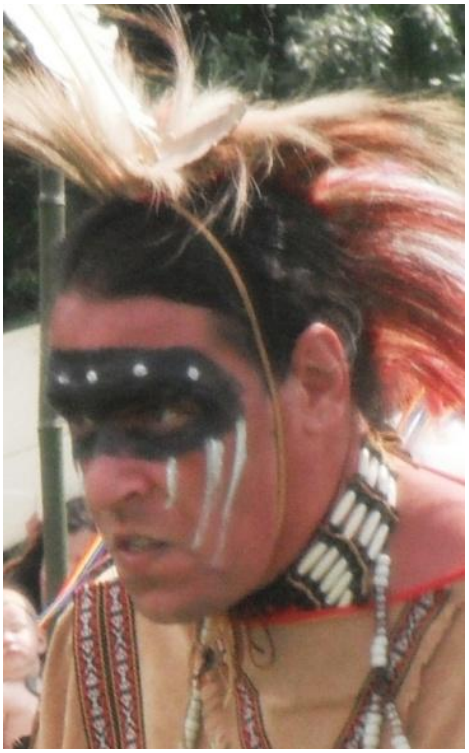

Figure 159. Richard wears a mask of black paint around his eyes.

Figure 160. Jeffrey wears black, red, and white face paint with his regalia.

Figure 161. Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground paints red and black stripes on his face.

Based on the data, it is clear that for North Carolina American Indians, tribal identity is almost exclusively reserved to the federally-recognized EBCI tribe. The next section discusses how dancers who cannot draw on specific tribal symbols like those of the Cherokee look to broader regional styles in order to express tribal identity.

Eastern Woodlands

Several participants described their regalia as being "Eastern Woodlands" or "Southeastern Woodlands." Because North Carolina tribes experienced the loss of their culture as a result of European contact, they have had to look to Plains Indian styles for their powwow dress. However, the data do suggest that some participants are using regional influences, such as Eastern Woodlands dress as a means of representing their tribal identity. As seen in Figure 162, the area encompassed by Eastern Woodlands

Indians is shown in green on the upper right area of the map. The Southeastern Woodlands Indians region is shown in yellow.

Figure 162. Map of American Indian Territories. http://faculty.umf.maine.edu/walter.sargent/public.www/web%20103/unit%201%20old%20worlds.html

For example, Greyfox describes his powwow regalia style (see Figure 163) and defines the Eastern Woodlands style:

> My buckskin regalia is my interpretation of what an Indian/mixed blood would wear in piedmont NC/VA circa 1700 if he spent most of his time in the woods hunting/exploring. In broader terms, Eastern Woodlands refers to Indians who lived east of the Mississippi from just before contact until modern times. In dance terms, the regalia varies with mix of cloth and buckskin but usually does not include a bustle.

Figure 163. Greyfox wearing Eastern Woodlands regalia.

Based on Greyfox's description and my observations, Greyfox's regalia is unique among those worn at North Carolina powwows. Although he describes his regalia as Eastern Woodlands, he also places it in very specific context. As he mentions above, his regalia is all made from deer skin even though the time period for his Eastern Woodlands regalia is during the time of European contact. His buckskin regalia consists of leggings that tie together at the thighs or, depending on the weather, buckskin pants, several belts made with extra buckskin in case of a need for it during travels, and many foxes, which represent his namesake. He does wear a cotton shirt under his buckskin occassionally but otherwise, he makes full use of the deer. He even tans and processes the hides himself. This heavy use of buckskin also indicates his powwow persona. As a trader who would often be traveling through the woods and hunting, Greyfox's use of buckskin instead fabric suggests that durability and comfort are important to him. Unlike other North Carolina powwow participants, Greyfox wears everyday historic Eastern Woodlands dress as opposed to Eastern Woodlands ceremonial dress. For Greyfox, buckskin is practical and represents his primary role relative to his tribal identity.

In contrast to Greyfox, Blackfeather describes his regalia as "Southeastern Woodlands" instead of "Eastern Woodlands" (See Figure 164 & 165). Eastern Woodlands encompassed much of the East Coast while Southeastern Woodlands included the areas south of eastern Virginia. Based on the data, it appears that among North Carolina powwow participants, "Southeastern Woodlands" usually means either historic Eastern Band of the Cherokee Indian dress from the 1750s, or dress styles based on 1700s Northern North Carolina and Virginia ceremonial dress. Because the

Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation originated in southern Virginia and migrated to northern North Carolina duirng the late 1600s, Blackfeather choses to wear powwow regalia based on this time period. By the late 1600s, Europeans were trading with the American Indians in this area, therefore so much of his regalia uses the type of fabric that would have been acquired through trade during this time. Blackfeather's regalia is colorful and adorned with floral motifs and feathers. According to Blackfeather, floral fabric, like that on his apron seen in Figure 164, was and is still prized by his people.

Blackfeather's regalia also consists of more feminine details like ruffles seen in both Figures 164 and 165. Ruffles are rather unusual on men's powwow regalia, and stem from the more feminine aspects of both the tribe and of European dress at the time of contact. Like Plains Indian dress, Southeastern dress also features many types of feathers (see Figure 164). Blackfeather explains which feathers were popular during the time of trade with Europeans in the 1600s:

> B: I don't recall seeing pictures of the Southeastern woodlands people, our people, carrying eagle feathers. They carried hawk feathers. And then when Europeans started trading with them, they carried different European feathers like ostrich feathers, peacock feathers and also songbird feathers.

Along with feathers, Blackfeather's headdress also features seashells.These particular seashells represent the Occaneechi's early trade with coastal Virginia and North Carolina tribes.

Figure 164. Blackfeather wearing Southeastern Woodlands regalia.

Figure 165. Blackfeather wearing more Southeastern Woodlands styles.

Based on the data, it appears that there are two major types of Eastern or Southeastern Woodlands dress emerging at North Carolina powwows. The first is like that of Blackfeather and the Occaneechi. The second is that of styles worn by the Eastern

Band of the Cherokee during the mid-18th century. As seen in Figure 166, the components of this style of dress include a cotton shirt similar to those received in trade from the Europeans during the 1700s. Most of these shirts are of a natural color. Pants or leggings of fabric or buckskin are usually worn. The style also features German silver work, such as an armband or gorgets. The dancer in Figure 166 is wearing a silver gorget, or necklace. This type of dress usually features a fingerwoven yarn belt and a pouch of some kind used to carry personal items. During data collection it became clear that many participants who wear Plains Indian regalia admire those dancers who wear more historically based Cherokee dress. They feel that it is the style most authentic to North Carolina.

Figure 166. A dancer wearing typical 1750s style Cherokee dress.

American Indian Identity

As Mihesuah (1999) writes:

> Tribes have the commonalities of having to deal with the effects of colonialism (racism; prejudice; loss of culture, land, and population) and originally having members who were exclusively indigenous people. Indians who only recognize this general definition of Indians' common past and who utilize a spectrum of tribal symbols and cultural mores to construct their version of an Indian, subscribe to a pan-Indian cultural identity. (p.14)

As discussed in Chapter II, Pan-Indian cultural identity is often visually synonymous with Plains Indian cultural identity. This similarity also surfaced in the data, in that on the whole, participants use regalia to create their American Indian identity by relying on styles associated with the Plains Indian. Three themes emerged from the data that help to illustrate how this American Indian identity is communicated through powwow regalia: (1) *spiritual symbolism*, (2) *Pan-Indian symbols*, and (3) *warrior status*. Each is discussed in the following sections.

Spiritual Symbolism

As discussed in Chapter V, many powwow participants integrate their spiritual beliefs into their regalia to express aspects of personal identity. Powwow participants also use some of these same symbols to proclaim an American Indian identity. The two most prominent American Indian spiritual symbols seen in the data are those related to the Lakota Sioux Four Directions: Pan-Indian colors and the related sacred hoop or medicine wheel.

In Chapter V, I described how American Indians use a combination of red, black, white, and yellow to represent various aspects of nature and well-being as well as the four

directions. Each color relates to a different direction, animal, plant, and aspect of life (Dapice, 2006). Yellow represents East, the eagle, the tobacco plant, and the mental aspect of well-being. Red is South, the red tailed hawk, the cedar tree, and the emotional aspect of well-being. Black is West, the bear, the sage plant, and the physical aspect of well-being (Dapice, 2006). Powwow participants wear these four colors in combination to show balance among all aspects of life, such as relationships with loved ones and connections to nature (Rybak & Decker-Fitts, 2009). Figures 167, 168, and 169 include Northern Men's Traditional bustles featuring the four spiritual colors of the American Indian.

Figure 167. Bustle featuring the standard American Indian colors.

Figure 168. Don’s bustle features the four standard colors.

Figure 169. Bustle featuring Pan-Indian colors.

The four standard American Indian colors and directions are also represented by the medicine wheel. Trey describes his use of the medicine wheel in his regalia:

> T: The medicine wheel is a universal thing. A lot of tribes use it so I do that. You can tell in my beadwork pattern. There's black, there's white, there's red, and there's yellow. So turquoise represents the sky. So I think of it like a morning sun and setting sun at the same time. I incorporated it because I believe in those things so I like to wear the colors.

Although alone the four standard colors represent directions, animals, well-being, and plants, they become something more spiritual when combined into the circle of the medicine wheel (see Figure 170). According to Rybak and Decker-Fitts (2009):

> The medicine wheel serves to orient one according to the cardinal directions as well as within the many aspects of life associated with the different directions. The circle encloses a cross that forms the four spokes of the wheel, with each spoke pointing to different directions. (p. 335)

Figure 170. The medicine wheel. *Source*: http://www.spiritualnetwork.net/native/medicine_wheel.htm

In American Indian tradition, the circle represents power, unity, and peace. Worn as part of powwow regalia, it is meant to remind the dancer of the importance of the relationship between human beings and other living things. The circle represents the American Indian belief that all life forms should be revered, "animals, plants, rocks and minerals, people, Earth, sky, Sun, Moon, stars, wind, water, fire, thunder, lightning, and rain" (Portman & Garrett, 2006, p. 457).

Northern Men's Traditional dancers tend to display the medicine wheel on their war shields. According to participants, this is often indicative of their warrior mentality and hope that life balance will help them to be more successful in battle (see Figures 171, 172 & 173). Sometimes the wheel is displayed on other parts of the regalia, such as the side tabs, as seen in Figure 174.

Figure 171. Don, a Northern Men's Traditional dancer. Carrying a shield featuring the medicine wheel.

Figure 172. A Northern Men's Traditional powwow participant. The war shield features a variation of the medicine wheel.

Figure 173. A Northern Men's Traditional dancer. The shield features a variation of the medicine wheel.

Figure 174. A Fancy dancer with a medicine wheel on his side tabs.

Pan-Indian Styles and Symbols

As mentioned earlier, Pan-Indian styles and symbols are recognized by all American Indian tribes. Powwow participants use these styles and symbols to communicate that they are American Indian. No matter the powwow, these styles and symbols allow them to relate to other dancers and to be viewed by spectators as an "American Indian." As a result, a uniform look tends to surface across much powwow regalia. For Trey, this uniformity is important, which is why he incorporates a Pan-Indian theme into his Grass Dance regalia (see Figure 175):

> T: The reason I chose that design for my beadwork is because it's Pan-Indian. It's huge all around the nation. It's not tribal specific so I don't get into trouble from any other tribe. It's a common symbol. It's a sun symbol or a cross as some people view it. And the colors are whatever. I have the four directions colors: red, black, white, and yellow. I have all that incorporated into it because the Lumbee people use that as a tribal symbol. And a lot of people out west use it like that too. So it's a universal thing. Circle of life some people call it. Balance of the world, how you should act … That's why I have those colors and the other colors are just to complement it. Make a design pop out more. I used this pattern. Some people see mountains but this pattern is called Pan-Indian. In a sense, it's across the nation. There are tribal specific bead work patterns. I try to stay away from those unless it's my own people [but] my people really don't have a whole lot of tribal specific stuff.

Figure 175. Trey is wearing Pan-Indian regalia elements that are recognizable at any powwow anywhere in the United States.

Other dancers wear Pan-Indian regalia for reasons similar to those of Trey, in that they want to represent themselves as American Indian more than as a member of a specific tribe. However, some do it to represent a specific dance style, as Fancy dancers and Grass dancers cannot stray too far from the Pan-Indian look associated with the dances. In fact, while collecting data, I saw many dancers who actually looked very similar. Examples of this similarity can be seen in Figures 176, 177, 178, and 179.

Figure 176. Two Grass dancers at the Cherokee powwow wearing similar regalia.

Figure 177. Grass dancers at the American Indian Cultural Association (AICA) powwow.

Figure 178. A Fancy dancer at the Occaneechi powwow. Note similarity to the Fancy dancer in Figure 179.

Figure 179. A Fancy dancer at the Cherokee powwow. Similar to the Fancy dancer in Figure 178.

While Grass dancers and Fancy dancers are the most likely to use Pan-Indian symbols and styles because of the origins of the dances, Northern Men's Traditional dancers, through displaying a modern or contemporary style, might also choose to create a more Pan-Indian look. As Don explains,

> D: This is a Northern Traditional. It comes from the Dakotas, the Plains, and this is contemporary because it has ribbons instead of leather. It has brighter colors instead of earth tone colors and a lot of my bead work is basically Lakota – Sioux – in that style. You see kind triangles and the colors. Geometric shapes. The beadwork on the moccasins is Pan-Indian. You know, because of the feathers. It matches or tries to match everything else. This is all western style.

Participants classify Pan-Indian as having geometric shapes and colors that are not combined to be tribe specific. While there is symbolism in most beading styles or colors related to Pan-Indianism, the majority of symbols featured on dress like Don's have universal meaning. In other words, they mean the same thing to everyone. For example, Don's Northern Men's Traditional regalia features beading on his cuffs and apron. As he described above, this beadwork pattern features triangles and other geometric shapes such as squares and diamonds. The colors of his regalia are also Pan-Indian. The bright blue that makes up the majority of his regalia is not a color that is associated with any particular tribe. In fact, according to participants, this color represents a bright blue sky on a clear day. Like other elements of his regalia, Don's moccasins are also in the Pan-Indian style. This style is indicated by the shape of the shoe and by the geometric pattern of the beadwork on the top of the moccasins. As he mentions above, feathers also considered to be Pan-Indian symbols because of the importance of birds in American Indian culture. His regalia features appliqué feathers on the sleeves of his ribbon shirt and

in some of the beadwork. Due to these common Pan-Indian colors and symbols, much like the Grass Dance and Fancy Dance, Northern Men's Traditional powwow participants tend to look very similar from powwow to powwow (see Figures 180 & 181).

Figure 180. Don is wearing contemporary Northern Men's Traditional regalia. Photographed at the Foothills powwow. Note similarity in style with Figure 181.

Figure 181. A powwow participant wearing contemporary Northern Men's Traditional regalia. A similar look to that of Figure 180.

Warrior Status

It is important to note that all of the powwow participants discussed in this section are veterans of the Armed Forces and that they dance the Northern Men's Traditional Dance. Lonewolf, Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground, and Don, like many dancers who are veterans, choose to wear Northern Men's Traditional regalia because of its history as a warrior's dance. Through their regalia, their American Indian identity becomes intertwined with their military service.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, powwow participants who are members of the Eastern Band of the Cherokee often use Cherokee symbols to, in part, show their warrior status. Powwow participants also display their warrior status through the use of Pan-Indian regalia and do this by wearing regalia that was historically worn by Plains Indian warriors. Such regalia typically includes the following items: (a) *bustle*, and (b) *breastplates and chokers*. Each is discussed in turn in the following sections.

Bustle

The bustle was not usually worn into battle by Plains Indians, but only those warriors who went into battle were allowed to wear it during ceremonial events. Big Frog describes how the bustle became identifiable with the Plains Indian warrior through the war bonnet worn for Wild West shows:

> BF: They all wore this type of outfit. They did the train and traveling thing. People would travel on the train and they would stop in a town and you would see all these guys dancing and they'd be wearing straight dance outfits. Over time, turn of the century, probably before 1900 … People wanted to see more so they started to wear feathered bustles, which is what this is. Basically, so then it was… they started to put feathers to kind of mimic the war bonnet. A lot of people call it

> a war bonnet but it's a bustle. They started wearing bustles in like the 20s, 30s and the style that came out of that was Northern Traditional.

Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground, who combines Plains Indian historical dress with Eastern Woodlands dress, wears a bustle (see Figure 182). He explains why:

> TDSTG: The Plains part would be the bustle and it would be the headpiece because of the porky roach … The regalia is Men's Traditional with a bustle … Now the bustle wasn't popular with the Cherokee because that's more or less a Plains Indian, more of the bustle and the fancy headpiece called the porky roaches … So in this area, the Eastern Woodlands, you wouldn't have a bustle, you might have if you were a dignitary, you might have a headpiece but it might be made out of turkey feathers but the bustle is mainly from the Plains Indians … and the people that wore the bustles were actually warriors. So being a veteran, I can wear the bustle if I so choose.

Even though he is a member of the EBCI, the wearing of the bustle allows him to show his American Indian identity because of its Plains Indian origins. Moreover, he chooses to wear it because of its warrior association, and as a veteran, he is allowed to do so. In fact, when he attended a Plains Indian powwow in the West he was received as an American Indian warrior and not just an American Indian from somewhere in the South.

Don also wears a bustle to express his identity as a warrior (see Figure 183). Like Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground, he wears the bustle to showcase his past as a warrior. In fact, other participants who no longer wear a bustle did wear one at one point in their dancing career for the same reason as Don and Thunder Sees the Ground: To declare warrior status. Now that their regalia has evolved, they no longer wear the bustle but have returned warrior status because of their reputations at powwows.

Figure 182. Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground wearing his Northern Men's Traditional regalia. Photographed at the Occaneechi powwow.

Figure 183. Don as a veteran of the Marines wears a Northern Men's Traditional bustle. Photographed at the AICA powwow.

Although the bustle is not worn exclusively by veterans of the Armed Forces today, it is still considered a symbol of warrior status. It is understood that those who wear the bustle have in some way acquired warrior status. Since the battles that they have fought might be from personal experiences or struggles arising from their American Indian heritage, the dancer's identity as a warrior is expressed through the wearing of the bustle.

Breastplates and Chokers

As described in Chapter IV, the breastplate and choker were worn by Plains Indians to protect the neck, chest, and vital organs during battle, and as Lonewolf describes, during an animal attack (see Figures 184, 185, 186, & 187):

> LW: Choker … It protects my organs ... my jugular vein. Not only in war but if a bear attacked me or something, mountain lion, I'm kind of protected.

Figure 184. Lonewolf wearing his plastic bone breastplate at the Yadkin Valley powwow.

Figure 185. Lonewolf wearing a choker at the Drums of the Painted Mountain powwow.

Figure 186. Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground wearing his bone breastplate.

Figure 187. A veteran wearing a choker. Photographed at the Cherokee powwow.

Today the breastplate and choker are worn as an element of Northern Men's Traditional regalia. Powwow participants wear the breastplate and choker to represent their own time in battle or to honor those who did battle before them. Participants can also show their warrior status through the veteran's flag carrying ritual that takes place during Grand Entry. Figure 188 shows a veteran carrying the veteran's staff at Grand Entry. Although only veterans are allowed to carry these staffs, he would be readily identified as a warrior even without it. The bustle, breastplate, and choker combine to create a modern image based on the Plains Indian warrior. Powwow participants who wear these elements with their regalia do so to show their connection to American Indian warriors of the past and present.

Participants use regalia to express their tribal and American Indian identity in a variety of different ways. Each participant uses his regalia to indicate his relationship to his tribe or region through colors, styles, and symbols. Colors and symbols have specific meanings that connect that participant to the rest of his tribe, and styles that are indicative of a region may be used to communicate links to a lost tribal identity. Participants also use Pan-Indian or Plains Indian colors, symbols, and regalia components to express their identity as American Indians. The roles that each participant plays relative to the tribe, such as clan identification, or to American Indian culture in general are also expressed through the regalia worn at powwows. As with personal identity, warrior status is an important component of the social identity communicated by the participant's regalia.

Summary

In this chapter, I provided an interpretation of powwow regalia relative to tribal identity and American Indian identity. Participants communicated tribal identity through the wearing of tribal symbols and colors and as well as face paint. Some participants use Eastern Woodlands and/or Southeastern Woodlands styles as regalia that indicates their connection to regional and/or local tribes. I also discussed the ways that American Indian identity is displayed by regalia through the use of Pan-Indian symbols, colors, and styles. The next chapter presents a discussion of the results of the interpretation relative to the literature, and addresses what the interpretation means within the framework of cultural authentication.

CHAPTER VII

DISCUSSION

Interpreting the experiences of the participants helps to better understand how they use powwows to create and maintain their identities as American Indians. The interpretation also helps to shed light on how they use regalia during powwows to express this identity. Summarizing and synthesizing the experiences of the participants reveals what it means to be an American Indian in North Carolina, and how the use of regalia helps to establish a culturally authentic identity.

In this chapter, the conceptual relevance of the thematic interpretation is explained. To that end, this chapter is divided into three parts: (1) *North Carolina American Indian History and Modern Indian Identity*, (2) *History of Plains Indian Dress and its Importance at Modern North Carolina Powwows*, and (3) *Cultural Authentication and North Carolina American Indian Powwow Regalia.* Issues that were discussed in Chapter II as important to shaping the study are examined in light of the thematic interpretation, and findings are considered relative to the broader research goals and objectives that guide the study.

In the first part of the chapter, the historical background of North Carolina American Indian tribes is examined. The influence of this history on the creation of the powwow in North Carolina is discussed. The importance of the history of the North

Carolina American Indian as well as the powwow in the creation of North Carolina American Indian identity is also explored.

The second part of the chapter examines how the history of Plains Indian dress has influenced the modern day North Carolina powwow dancer. Plains Indian dress is not only the type of dress worn most frequently at any powwow, it is also the most identifiable as "American Indian." The connections between North Carolina powwow dancers and the importance of Plains Indian historic dress for the identity of the American Indian are also discussed.

In the third part of the chapter, I examine the process of cultural authentication in relation to the development of powwow regalia. I highlight how the interpretation addresses the two key questions posed by the study's conceptual framework: (1) *What about Plains influences on North Carolina American Indian powwow dress makes this dress "authentic"?* and (2) *How might historical influences specific to North Carolina and Southeastern tribes contribute to perceptions of authenticity?* I also provide examples of the application of the cultural authentication framework by examining the evolution of participants' regalia from American Indian historic dress to modern North Carolina American Indian ceremonial dress. Within this application, I examine the two main influences on the creation of North Carolina American Indian regalia found in this study: (1) *Pan-Indianism* and (2) *Eastern Woodlands*.

North Carolina American Indian History and Modern Indian Identity

The history of the North Carolina American Indian is one of enormous loss resulting from early contact with Europeans. Since that time, North Carolina American Indian tribes have had to create their culture from the remains of local and regional tribal culture along with that introduced by the newly arrived Europeans. Although the literature explains this cultural transition, Trey, a powwow participant, gives an account of how his own tribe was affected by European contact, including the latter's influence on tribal dress:

> T: When Europeans came over, our people were wiped out in one of the first genocides ever. There were few left due to small pox and diseases. Lumbee people are Siouan people and so are the Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation, Catawba. Monahan people are Siouan people. They speak the language, the Siouan dialect which comes from the Siouan people … Once you had the contact with the English. When they came over, they brought a lot of clothing, a lot of cotton. It's that transition point from your hunter/gatherer societies to your farmer society with more traditional leggings made out of deer skin and all that. When these new things came in, a lot of times the folks [Europeans] would just give them the shirts because they thought it was a sin for them to be naked. They [Indians] started incorporating a lot of European clothing into their dress. That's where you get the beads, all the seed beads, all the glass beads. They would trade buckskins, deerskins, for beads, guns, and other things that were pretty valuable. So they started incorporating that into their dress. You'll see native folks had cotton back then. That's all around a certain time period. I'd say the late 16th century.

As a result of the interpretation of data collected for this study, two aspects of this historical background emerged as relevant to understanding modern North Carolina American Indians: (1) *North Carolina American Indian History and the Creation of North Carolina Powwows* and (2) *North Carolina American Indian History and the*

Creation of American Indian Identity. Both are discussed in detail within the following sections.

North Carolina American Indian History and North Carolina Powwows

North Carolina American Indians were introduced to European culture much earlier than tribes in other parts of the United States. Because of this, their tribal customs and traditions dissolved in the face of the customs and traditions of the Europeans. Tribes in the West did not lose their customs and traditions to the extent of those in the East. Western tribes were eventually merged into European-American society, but were able to maintain much of their own tribal and American Indian identity. One of the ways that they did this was by creating a gathering that allowed them to express this identity. This gathering became known as the powwow (Browner, 2004).

Dancing has always been an integral part of American Indian tribal culture. After the Europeans took over, Western tribes were no longer allowed to hunt, lead a nomadic life, or fight wars against other tribes. Thus, dancing was all that remained to connect them to the past (Browner, 2004). As powwows continued to surface in the Western part of the United States, tribes in the East began to search for their lost American Indian identity. The powwows that were created in the West provided Eastern tribes a way to express belonging and affiliation with American Indian culture. North Carolina American Indian tribes in particular started to use the powwow as a cultural identifier in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Goertzen, 2005).

Today, North Carolina powwows range in scale from small, school-based powwows to medium-sized, intertribal powwows and larger, tribal-specific powwows.

Small powwows may include fewer than a dozen dancers, while large powwows might have 100 or more dance participants. These North Carolina powwows are fashioned on those seen in the West and, similar to tribes in the West, powwows have become "the main tool North Carolina Indians have for defining their collective identity to outsiders" (Goertzen, 2005, p. 285). Findings of this dissertation support this idea, but also point to the importance of the powwow for preserving North Carolina American Indian culture.

As with its Western origins, the North Carolina powwow is used as a link to the past. North Carolina powwows also communicate American Indian culture to outsiders by using the Plains Indian form of the powwow. Indeed, observation data collected for this dissertation illustrate that the basic format and style of North Carolina powwows follows that of the Plains Indian powwow described in the literature (McCarl, 1996). Like powwows in the West, the North Carolina powwows I observed featured a drum circle under cover of a tent, a circular dance arena, and an area for vendors selling Pan-Indian crafts and foods. Some small-to-medium sized intertribal powwows like the Cabarrus powwow and the Drums of the Painted Mountain powwow may have only one or two drum circles and a small dance arena (see Figures 188 & 189). Other larger tribal powwows, like the Cherokee powwow, feature multiple drum circles and a large dance arena (see Figure 190).

Figure 188. At the Cabarrus powwow, a single drum circle is situated under the brown tent. The dance arena is to the right of the drum circle.

Figure 189. Drums of the Painted Mountain powwow as seen from above. The vendors are to the left and the dance circle in the middle.

Figure 190. The Cherokee powwow features many drum circles underneath tents. The drum circle tents surround the large dance arena.

Like powwows of the West, the powwows that I attended featured a Grand Entry in which dancers are lined up according to veteran status and dance category. Veterans enter the arena first carrying flags and staffs. The primary difference between powwows, whether Plains or North Carolina, might be in the specific flags carried during the Grand Entry. For example, a tribal powwow might include the tribal flag of the hosting tribe. In other cases, the flags are carried into the arena by veterans as a veteran's song is played in the drum circle (see Figures 191, 192 & 193). At the Occaneechi powwow shown in Figure 191, the veteran's staff is carried in first by the head veteran dancer. The American flag, the POW/MIA flag, and the official Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation flag follow closely behind.

Figure 191. Veterans carrying the veteran's staff and various flags during the Grand Entry at the Occaneechi powwow.

Figure 192. Veterans at the smaller intertribal Strong Sun powwow carry the American flag and the POW/MIA flag.

Figure 193. Veterans at the Drums of the Painted Mountain powwow carrying the veteran's staff and various flags.

As described in Chapter II, most powwows follow a similar format. The Master of Ceremonies controls the pace of the Grand Entry and the dances. For instance, from the MC stand, he or she instructs the dancers and the drum circle. The MC also informs the spectators about the history of the powwow and the specific dances. The Plains Indian origins of the powwow are evident in most of the MC's stories about the history of the powwow. This is because most of the dances at any powwow around the United States are the same, consisting of the Northern Men's Traditional Dance, the Men's Southern Straight Dance, the Grass Dance, and the Fancy Dance. The stories told at North Carolina powwows are consistent with those of the Plains Indian powwow. Depending on the type of powwow, specific dances like the Fancy Dance or the Grass Dance may be called. Other times, the dances are intertribal, which means that everyone is invited to dance.

Like their counterparts in the West, North Carolina powwows usually start on Friday night and end on Sunday afternoon.

The data point to the fact that for participants, the powwow is not just an experience, it is also a lifestyle. Based on my experiences during data collection, I became aware of a group of powwow regulars who attend North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia powwows almost every weekend and live this lifestyle (see Figures 194, 195, & 196). This group encompasses members from almost every state- and federally-recognized tribe in North Carolina. The history of the North Carolina American Indian, particularly the loss of their tribal culture, motivates them to attend powwows and to celebrate their American Indian heritage. Members of this informal powwow group do not live in communities dominated by American Indians or on a reservation. Thus, they integrate many Pan-Indian elements into their regalia, deliberately incorporating them to express their American Indian identity.

Figure 194. Don, Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground's son, and Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground at the Foothills powwow. They are among the group of powwow regulars.

Figure 195. Lonewolf, Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground, and Don at the Strong Sun powwow. They attend between 12 and 40 powwows in the Southeast each year.

Figure 196. Lonewolf and Don dance at the Cabarrus powwow and experience the powwow lifestyle.

North Carolina American Indian History and Identity

While the powwow is a way for North Carolina American Indians to communicate their American Indian identity to others, North Carolina American Indians also use what they can of their own tribal history to express their identity. Moreover, they seek to establish new traditions and customs based on what they know of their tribal history. As Greyfox explains, genetically he is linked to a tribe that no longer exists, so he relies on close affiliation with other groups to shape his particular identity:

> GF: I claim Shakori but the Shakori are officially extinct. So I dance as a mixed blood. We're affiliated with the Eno Occaneechi but my research showed that we have blood lines that go back further than the time that the Occaneechi came into the area. The Shakori were the Pee Dee culture that were already living there. Most of the time they get put in with the Eastern Sioux, the Saponi, the Tutelo, Monacans.

Along similar lines, the data reveal that powwow participants like Greyfox, Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground, and Blackfeather use knowledge of North Carolina American Indian history to create their own regalia or regalia for others. For example, Blackfeather uses feathers to create headdresses, arrows, and other accessories that might have been used by Eastern Woodlands Indians prior to European contact. He shares his Occaneechi heritage with others by giving his creations to those who participate in powwows. Similarly, Greyfox tans his own deer hides and snake skins to attach to his regalia. He makes jewelry and knives for himself, his wife, and others to wear on their regalia. Other North Carolina powwow dancers do the same (see Figures 197 & 198).

Figure 197. The back of Greyfox's yoke features a snakeskin that he processed himself.

Figure 198. Blackfeather wearing Eastern Woodlands regalia made by his wife and carrying hand items that were made by him. His headdress features feathers he has dyed or painted himself.

Blackfeather and Greyfox create items based on their knowledge of local and regional American Indian weapons and dress, and have developed personas that are expressed through this regalia. As the literature suggests, the Occaneechi tribe settled into the Piedmont area of North Carolina during the late 1600s (Oakley, 2005). Both Blackfeather and Greyfox claim Occaneechi heritage and both have developed their powwow style based on this heritage. For example, Greyfox's persona is one of a 17th century mixed-breed colonial trader. All of his regalia is made using historical methods. He even carries extra trinkets and supplies to sell, as would a trader of the period. The beads he carries to sell and wear all resemble beads that would have been available to North Carolina American Indians of the piedmont during the late 17th century. Likewise, Blackfeather creates primitive weaponry based on his knowledge of such weapons within

tribal history. He then demonstrates how these weapons were used by the ancestors during powwows.

Through the interpretation of the data, it became clear that those participants who had developed their identity based on their knowledge of local or regional tribal history were more likely to view their Indianness as related to Eastern Woodlands Indians instead of the Plains Indians. They do this at the risk of having powwow spectators misinterpret their identity, viewing them as not "real" Indians. Similarly, participants who wear a more authentic local or regional style did not view their identity as being Pan-Indian. In contrast to those who wear Plains Indian influenced dress, they tended to identify themselves as Southeastern or North Carolina American Indian.

History of Plains Indian Dress and its Importance at Modern Powwows

The historical background of Plains Indian dress is reflected in most of the regalia worn at American Indian powwows around the country, including powwows that take place in North Carolina. This section of the chapter will specifically examine how Plains Indian dress has influenced the regalia and the powwows of the modern North Carolina American Indian. Two areas of focus emerged from the interpretation that illustrate the importance of Plains Indian dress to the North Carolina American Indian: (1) *Historic Plains Indian Dress and the North Carolina American Indian Powwow Dancer* and (2) *Historic Plains Indian Dress and the Creation of North Carolina American Indian Identity*. Both are discussed in turn in the following sections.

Historic Plains Indian Dress and the North Carolina American Indian Powwow Dancer

As shown in this study, many North Carolina American Indian powwow dancers use Plains Indian regalia to establish their own identity as American Indians. This regalia has a history that can be traced back to the warrior societies of the Plains Indians before they were forced onto reservations. The literature reveals common styles of Plains Indian regalia that is influenced by this Plains Indian historic dress (Browner, 2004). Similarly, I found that the majority of North Carolina American Indian powwow dancers who wear Plains Indian dress wear regalia components that are similar to those worn by the modern Plains Indian powwow dancer. In other words, they embraced the Pan-Indian style that began with the Plains Indians. Trey, a Lumbee Grass dancer explains that he attends powwows in Western states to see what they wear, including what may prove to be popular styles of the powwow season:

> T: I've been told to stay with what's popular. When I do my stuff and my beadwork, I tend to see what's popular which means in the beginning of our powwow season in March, I go to watch Denver March. It is a bigger contest powwow [in Colorado]… That's a big powwow where everybody comes out with their new stuff. That's what's popular for that year. Those earlier powwows set the tone for the rest of the year. It takes awhile to get over here to the East coast. (see Figures 199 & 200)

Prior to this interview with Trey, I was unaware of trends in modern powwow regalia, yet after having observed several powwows I began to see how Grass dancers looked very much alike, as did Fancy dancers (see Figures 201 & 202). Indeed, this similarity was in

keeping with the Pan-Indian look of Plains Indian regalia and was present at every powwow that I observed.

Figure 199. A Grass dancer at the Denver March.
Note: http://www.care2.com/news/member/713135843/1123001

Figure 200. Trey wearing his Grass Dance regalia based on the styles of regalia worn at the Denver March.

Figure 201. A Fancy dancer at the American Indian Cultural Association powwow. He is wearing typical Plains Indian Fancy Dance regalia.

Figure 202. A Fancy dancer at the Cherokee powwow wearing Plains Indian Fancy Dance regalia.

Because of the history of the Grass Dance and its regalia, Grass dancers seem to have a special place at North Carolina powwows. This may be due to the fact that the story surrounding the origins of the Grass Dance is usually told by the MC beforehand. Non-Indians can easily see how the elements of the Grass Dance regalia mimic the swaying of the grass or strings of enemy scalps, depending on the story told by the MC, while watching the Grass dancers flatten the grass in the arena in preparation for the other dancers. The Grass dancer is thus able to express his American Indian identity in an immediate and recognizable way.

The Grass dancer is respected by the other powwow dancers. In contrast, I was surprised to learn that the Fancy dancer is not. Indeed, I learned that the popular conception of Fancy dancers is that they are egotistical, shallow, and attention-seeking. It

seems that this view is largely based on the fact that Fancy dancers are more likely to seek out powwows offering competitive dancing. Although not discussed in the literature, the Fancy Dance is not common in North Carolina and I observed Fancy dancers at roughly only half of the powwows that I attended. This is perhaps because there are few competitive powwows in North Carolina. Participants explained that competitive dancing takes away from the spiritual and social aspects of the powwow, thus the perception is that Fancy dancers do not dance for their spirit or for camaraderie, but for money. Yet, non-Indians see the Fancy dancer as the entertainment because they dance faster and wear elaborate dress that moves freely while they dance. Only one of my participants, Ben, is a Fancy dancer. However, he explained that he danced for his family and for the friends that he meets at the powwow:

> B: This is the first time that I've danced in a little while so it will be nice. It's nice to get back to the circle. It's in my family but a lot of my family doesn't affiliate with the actually powwows. And some do. But I met a lot of friends along the way that I call family as far as out in powwows.

Historic Plains Indian Dress and the Creation of North Carolina American Indian Identity

As described in the previous section, this study found that Plains Indian historic dress has had a significant impact on modern North Carolina powwow dress. Likewise, Plains Indian historic dress influences how dancers perceive their American Indian identity. For example, all of the Northern Men's Traditional dancers that I spoke with referred to their regalia as being that of a warrior. Indeed, this was a reoccurring theme throughout the interpretation. According to the literature, most of the regalia worn by

Plains Indians has its origins in warrior society (Browner, 2004). North Carolina dancers are proud of this warrior heritage and display their ties to it during powwows. For example, Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground is a veteran. Although he wears elements of Eastern Woodlands historic dress in his regalia, because he is a veteran he also wears the Plains Indian style bustle to identify himself as a warrior even though bustles were likely not worn in the East (see Figure 203). Don wears the bustle for the same reason. Indeed, it became obvious which dancers were considered warriors at all of the powwows I observed (see Figures 204 & 205).

Figure 203. Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground wears a Plains Indian bustle to communicate his warrior status.

Figure 204. A Northern Men's Traditional dancer at the Cherokee powwow wears Plains Indian influenced regalia that evokes the image of a warrior.

Figure 205. A Northern Men's Traditional dancer at the Yadkin Valley powwow wearing the regalia of a warrior.

As I collected the data, it became clear that the North Carolina American Indians who wear traditional Plains Indian regalia are interpreted by others as the "real" Indians. For example, spectators would often gather and stare at these "real" Indians as I was conducting my interviews. I could hear people whispering things like, "There's a real one," or "Get a picture of him. He's looks like a real Indian." As discussed in Chapter II, most non-Indians associate the image of the Plains Indian warrior with that of the iconic American Indian. North Carolina American Indian dancers wearing this traditional Plains Indian regalia do in fact resemble that great Plain Indian warrior frequently depicted in art and movies (see Figures 206, 207, & 208). By wearing this type of regalia, dancers like Big Frog and Jeffrey not only personally identify with the warrior ideal of the Plains Indian, but their appearance at powwows communicates to non-Indians that North Carolina American Indians are just like other American Indians. To Big Frog and Jeffrey, it is not important whether non-Indians know that they are not wearing dress indigenous to North Carolina. Instead what matters to them is that people know that American Indians are alive and well in North Carolina.

Figure 206. Modern illustration of the iconic American Indian that resembles a Plains Indian. *Note*: http://www.locogringostudios.com/Native-American-Indian-2.html

Figure 207. With the war paint, feathers, and breastplate, Big Frog resembles the American Indian warrior often seen in modern depictions such as the one in Figure 206.

Figure 208. Jeffrey also resembles the American Indian warrior often seen in modern depictions.

Cultural Authentication and Influences on North Carolina American Indian Powwow Regalia

Reexamination of the conceptual framework proposed for this study helps to shed light on how powwow participants use regalia to define their personal, tribal, and American Indian identity. As shown in Figure 209, Eicher and Erekosima's (1980) original model of cultural authentication suggests that dress is first acquired by one culture from another through *selection*. The dress is then *characterized* and *incorporated* before being *transformed* into authentic dress.

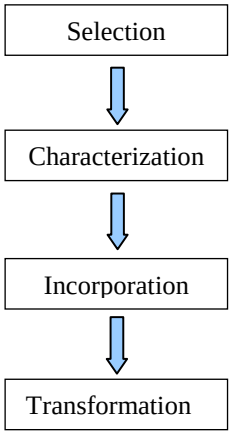

Figure 209. Cultural Authentication Model. Adapted from "Kalabari Cut-Thread and Pulled-Thread Cloth," by J. Eicher and T. Erekosima, 1981, *African Arts, 14*(3), p. 50.

Jasper and Roach-Higgins (1987) introduced two modifications to the theory of cultural authentication. First, *temporal authentication* acknowledges that groups use elements from their own cultural past and adopt these elements within their contemporary dress. Second, *temporo-cultural authentication* refers to a combination of cultural and temporal authentication. With *temporo-cultural authentication*, a group can reach back in time and across cultural boundaries to adapt elements into their contemporary dress (Jasper & Roach-Higgins, 1987). In the following section, two questions guide the discussion of the cultural authentication framework and its related modifications: (1) *What about Plains influences on North Carolina American Indian powwow dress makes the latter "authentic"?* and (2) *How might elements specific to North Carolina and Southeastern tribes contribute to perceptions of authenticity?*

Temporo-Cultural Authentication: Historic Plains Indian Dress

What about Plains influences on North Carolina American Indian powwow dress makes this dress "authentic"? The interpretation of the data indicates that powwow participants use *temporo-cultural authentication* to adopt historic Plains Indian dress as a part of their powwow regalia. As a result, the interpretation of the data does not support the order of the stages of cultural authentication as proposed by Eicher and Erekosima in the original model as shown in Figure 209.

Participants clearly understood that to start with, their own Indian identity as North Carolina American Indians has largely been influenced by the image of the Great Plains Indian warrior. Therefore *incorporation* occurs immediately in the process of cultural authentication. Powwow participants may then *select* an aspect of Plains Indian historic dress. *Transformation* of the dress occurs next, wherein the powwow participant takes the Plains Indian historic dress and modifies it to fit his particular needs.

Characterization of the dress occurs last, as a new meaning for the dress cannot be formed until it is worn during a powwow. Therefore, based on the data collected for this study, the process of cultural authentication best fits with the notion of temporo-cultural authentication. When adopting Plains Indian historic dress, North Carolina American Indians: (1*) Incorporate or associate their identity with the Plains Indian*, (2) *Select an aspect of Plains Indian dress*, (3) *Transform or alter and modify the aspect of Plains Indian dress*, and (4) *Characterize or create a new symbolic meaning for the Plains Indian dress.* Figure 210 illustrates the temporo-cultural authentication conceptual model.

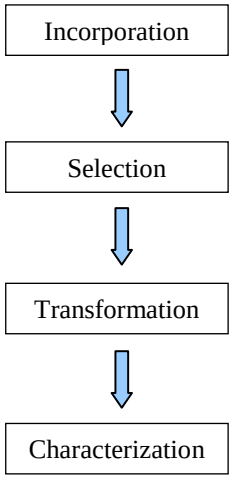

Figure 210. Temporo-cultural Authentication Model as suggested by the data.

The best example of temporo-cultural authentication is that of Northern Men's Traditional Dance regalia. Based directly on historic Plains Indian dress, once the dress is acquired, the dancer authenticates it based on his personal, tribal, and American Indian identity goals. For example, Jeffrey *incorporated* the breastplate into his regalia because he understood how its history relates to the warrior aspect of the Northern Men's Traditional Dance (see Figure 211). He then *selected* a specific breastplate based on what he felt was authentic to the Plains Indian image. Jeffrey then *transformed* the breastplate by decorating the middle of the breastplate with patriotic colors and symbols that are significant to his family identity as well as his life as a member of the Cherokee tribe. Lastly, he *characterized* the breastplate by associating meaning with his breastplate. Jeffrey describes how his breastplate reflects his personal, tribal, and American Indian identity:

> J: I have a breastplate which was used for protection, of course. As the long bones in the old days were buffalo real bones, now they're plastic because they are a lot lighter to dance with. The center is glass beads. And it's an American flag with only seven stars. That's the seven clans of the Cherokee. The bottom is a confederate flag because my family were all Confederate Cherokees during the Civil War.

Ultimately, the breastplate represents his identity as American Indian, but through the four steps of temporo-cultural authentication, Jeffrey is also able to link it to his personal and tribal identity (see Figure 212).

Figure 211. An 1898 photograph of Sioux Chief Hollow Horn Bear wearing a bone breastplate. *Note:* Courtesy, National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution (P09865).

Figure 212. Jeffrey wearing his interpretation of Plains Indian dress via a Northern Men's Traditional Dance breastplate.

Don also wears Northern Men's Traditional regalia. As described in Chapter II, the roach headdress that is worn with this type of regalia has a history that dates back several centuries. Don *incorporated* the roach into his regalia because of this long history. He then *selected* a particular style of roach. In his case, Don chose a more contemporary style of roach to wear with his contemporary style of regalia. Don *transformed* the roach by using brighter colors and a distinct striped pattern in the construction. Last, he *characterized* the roach headdress by creating meaning through the colors and patterns that he chose. He also expresses his warrior identity by the long length of porcupine hair at the top of the roach. Figure 213 shows Crazy Bear, a Sioux chief who fought at the Battle of the Little Big Horn, wearing long porcupine hair. In

comparison, Figure 214 shows Don, a veteran of the Vietnam War, in a modern yet similar style of headdress. By wearing this particular kind of porcupine roach as part of his regalia, Don expresses his personal identity alongside his American Indian identity.

Figure 213. Crazy Bear from the Sioux tribe wearing a roach headdress at the turn of the 19th century. *Note:* Courtesy, Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Wyoming (P.320.414).

Figure 214. Don wearing a Northern Men's Traditional Dance roach headdress.

Temporal Authentication: Local and Regional North Carolina Historic Tribal Dress

How might historical influences specific to North Carolina and Southeastern tribes contribute to perceptions of authenticity? To address the second question, the interpretation reveals the extent to which North Carolina powwow participants adopt historic dress from North Carolina American Indian tribes as well as more regional Eastern Woodlands tribes through temporal authentication. That is, powwow participants who wear traditional local or regional regalia first acquire such dress by *incorporation*. Since the acquired dress is from the same culture as the one adopting it, the dress should be readily identified as already having been used by the culture at some point. *Selection* would come next. A powwow participant will select dress knowing its tribal or regional cultural link. The next step in the authentication process is *characterization*. Powwow participants create a new meaning for the dress based on its use in the powwow. The last step in the temporal authentication model is optional. *Transformation* may or may not happen when North Carolina tribes use their own history to create modern ceremonial dress. That is, because the dress already belongs to the group, they may not need to alter or modify it to make it their own.

In this study, the stages of cultural authentication that emerged when North Carolina Indian powwow participants adopt North Carolina American Indian or Eastern Woodlands historic dress are: (1) *Incorporate or identify elements of locally historic dress with their culture*, (2) *Select an aspect of locally historic dress*, (3) *Characterize or create a new symbolic meaning for the dress*, and (4) *Transform or alter and modify the aspect of North Carolina American Indian and Eastern Woodlands historic dress*

(optional). Figure 215 illustrates the process of the temporal authentication as a conceptual model.

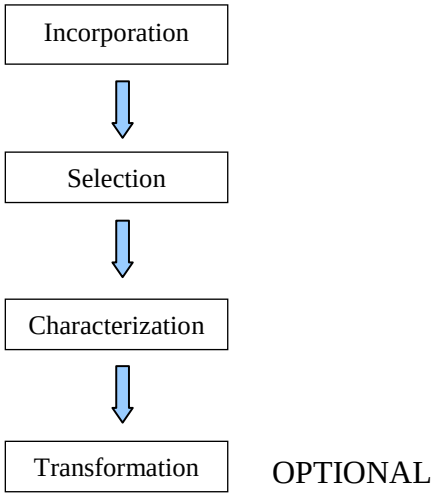

Figure 215. Temporal Authentication Model as suggested by the data.

Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground combines Plains Indian dress and Eastern Woodlands dress to create his Northern Men's Traditional regalia. Because of his Cherokee heritage, the process of temporal authentication explains how he integrates Eastern Woodlands dress into his powwow regalia. He first *incorporates* the dress by interpreting its history and connection to his tribe. Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground then *selects* the particular components of Eastern Woodlands dress to include in his regalia. He then *characterizes* the Eastern Woodlands dress by adding his own personal and tribal meanings. He does this by adding items that have been gifted to him or made by him. As shown in Figures 216 and 217, aspects of Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground's regalia closely resemble that of Keokuk, a member of the Sauk tribe. Because of this similarity, the cultural authentication step of *transformation* did not occur. Thunder Dancer Sees the

Ground uses traditional methods to process his deer hides and he even wears deer toes instead of bells around his legs, just as Keokuk does in Figure 216. Since Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground did not significantly change the form of the original Eastern Woodlands dress, he did not *transform* it. Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground uses elements of historic Eastern Woodlands dress in his regalia. As historic Eastern Woodlands dress represents his own tribe's particular past, these elements of his Northern Men's Traditional regalia are temporally authentic to the Eastern Band of the Cherokee Indian tribe.

Figure 216. Keokuk, a Sauk Indian chief, wears Eastern Woodlands dress in 1832. *Note:* Courtesy, Smithsonian American Art Museum, Gift of Mrs. Joseph Harrison, Jr. (1985.66)

Figure 217. Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground wearing his combination of Plains Indians and Eastern Woodlands regalia.

Unlike Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground, who combines Eastern Woodlands dress with Plains Indian elements, other powwow participants use historic Eastern Woodlands dress for their entire regalia. For example, Blackfeather, a member of the Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation, primarily wears what he refers to as Southeastern Woodlands regalia. His adoption of this dress reflects the temporal authentication process. According to Blackfeather, "the Eastern Woodlands people" are "our people." Blackfeather *incorporates* items into his regalia like a turban and a robe that resemble those worn by the Southeastern Woodlands Indians of the 1800s. He *selects* specific

attributes of these items to wear. *Characterization* occurs when Blackfeather adds his own personal or tribal attributes to the regalia. The step of *transformation* occurs in this instance because Blackfeather updates the turban and robe with modern materials and symbols. The resemblance between the dress worn by Sequoyah in the early 1800s in Figure 218 and what is worn by Blackfeather in the photograph in Figure 219 is clear. The process of cultural authentication occurred temporally because Blackfeather took dress elements of his tribal past and positioned them within today's powwow culture.

Figure 218. Sequoyah, a Cherokee Indian, in the early 1800s wearing Southeastern Woodlands dress. *Note*: Courtesy, http://chattanoogaparentmagazine.com/2011/10/sequoyah-and-the-secrets-of-the-syllabary

Figure 219. Blackfeather is wearing his Southeastern Woodland ruffled robe and fur turban.

Cultural authentication is a theoretical framework that explains how North Carolina American Indians create their powwow regalia. Based on literature and the interpretation of data presented by this study, the concepts of cultural authentication, and particularly temporo-cultural authentication and temporal authentication, mirror the steps taken by North Carolina American Indians when using dress to establish their unique identity among American Indians. Borrowing from their own tribal past as well as the broader American Indian culture and heritage, North Carolina American Indian powwow

regalia is a complex blending of the regional with the Pan-Indian and the personal with the cultural as it interprets the past for the present.

Summary

In this chapter, I discussed the theoretical implications of the interpretation for the broader research questions guiding the study. I began with a discussion of the North Carolina American Indian powwow and its role in shaping identity. I then examined the role of historic Plains Indian dress in the development of North Carolina American Indian powwow regalia and in the expression of their identity as American Indians. Last, I explored the framework of cultural authentication for understanding the variety of influences shaping modern North Carolina powwow regalia. In the next chapter, I discuss the study's key findings, reflect on the research process, and provide suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER VIII

REFLECTION AND IMPLICATIONS

The purpose of this study was to examine powwow dress worn by North Carolina American Indians. In this dissertation, I sought to understand what it is like to be a North Carolina American Indian who participates in powwows. In particular, I explored the ways that participants expressed their identity through the regalia they wear at powwows and what this regalia means to them. I also examined how the theoretical framework of cultural authentication can be used to explain the ways North Carolina American Indians choose and adopt their regalia to express the different dimensions of their identity. As a result, this dissertation addresses distinct gaps in the literature relative to the origins and use of powwow dress among North Carolina American Indians.

Through observation of local and regional powwows and interviews with powwow participants, I was able to identify the significance of powwow regalia for expressing identity and the extent to which knowledge of the origins of that regalia helps in the process. As illustrated by this study, powwows are the social context within which participants express who they are as American Indians.

In this chapter, I reflect on the process used to achieve the study's objectives, as well as consider the implications of the study's main findings for further research on the

topic of North Carolina American Indian powwow regalia and its use as an expression of identity. To that end, this chapter is comprised of two parts: (1) *Reflection* and (2) *Implications*. In the first part of the chapter, I reflect on the research experience, research goals, and the data collection and interpretation processes. In the second part of the chapter, I discuss the main findings that emerged through the interpretation. I conclude with a discussion of the limitations of the study and possibilities for further research.

Reflection

In this dissertation, I employed an ethnographic methodology to explore North Carolina American Indian powwow dress and its use in creating and communicating identity. The interpretative nature of and the ethnographic approach to the study made it possible to explore this dress through the experience of the North Carolina powwow participant. I collected data by attending powwows throughout North Carolina and Virginia and recruiting participants based on their tribal affiliation and involvement in powwow dances. I attended and observed each powwow, where I took photographs and conducted field interviews.

At each powwow that I attended, I took note of the physical arrangement of the event as well as the overall structure of the powwow activities. I noted the commonalities and differences in the regalia worn by participants in each dance category. I also documented regalia as it was worn by dancers who fit the criteria for this study. I recruited field interview participants based on the dance they were involved in. From the field interviews, I then recruited participants for individual in-depth interviews. These in-depth interviews took place at different locations that were convenient to the participant.

Several interviews took place at a participant's workplace. Others took place at a participant's home and still others took place at a powwow event. Interviews focused on the participant's perspectives about his regalia and how this regalia reflected his identity as a North Carolina American Indian.

As indicated in Chapter III, the powwow participants in this study were diverse as far as tribal affiliation and age. However, a few of the participants were present at many of the powwows that I attended. Don, Lonewolf, Thunder Dancer Sees the Ground, and Greyfox are included in this group of participants. These participants were generally older and more immersed in the American Indian culture. They also all danced in the Northern Men's Traditional Dance category. The expertise and familiarity of some of the participants with powwow protocol benefited the interpretation. That is, I gathered new information from field interviews and was able to seek advice and interpretation from these more experienced powwow participants.

Guided by the ethnographic nature of the study, I first began to immerse myself in the powwow experience by attending as a spectator. After meeting a group of participants who attend many powwows and frequently communicate with each other about American Indian culture, I became a powwow regular as well. I would sit with this group and was allowed to dance in several intertribal dances because one of them would always bring an extra women's dance shawl for me to borrow. A few months into the powwow circuit, I was immersed. The benefits of this immersion were enormous. My new powwow friends, aware of my study, would offer suggestions for interviews and explain powwow activities or regalia details as the events occurred.

Upon reflection, this "insider status" provided more pros than cons. This is largely because of the experience and age of the powwow insiders that I frequently associated with. These powwow participants live the powwow lifestyle. Their identity and spirituality are linked within the powwow experience. Therefore, spending time with them helped to broaden my overall research experience and deepen my understanding of the phenomenon. Conversations at these powwows were almost exclusively about the powwow circuit – information on other powwows, other powwow dancers not in attendance, and powwow regalia. Although I could not necessarily dress in American Indian regalia in the powwow as they did (i.e., as a means to establish and maintain American Indian identity), being able to participate in dances did allow me to connect with the experience of the dance and drums.

Through the interpretation, I explored the participants' experiences as a means to understand how they use their ceremonial dress to create and express their identity. While each individual includes unique elements in his powwow regalia, in order to establish the broader cultural significance of powwow regalia, the participants' experiences were examined as a group. Through the interpretation of the data as a whole, the conceptual areas of personal identity, tribal identity, and American Indian identity were identified as important to understanding the meanings of and influences on powwow regalia worn by North Carolina American Indians.

In order to ensure as accurate a portrayal of the participants' experiences as possible, I communicated with them before, during, and after the interpretation to get feedback. All of the feedback I received was positive, and they assured me that my study

and research findings were valuable to a broader understanding of their culture. Moreover, participants responded that my interpretation of the data was authentic to their experiences and perceptions of powwow regalia.

Upon completion of the interpretation, I then considered the conceptual framework relative to the emergent themes. I was able to illustrate the significance of the study with respect to the extant literature by exploring the steps of cultural authentication in relation to the acquisition of powwow dress by North Carolina American Indians. Because of the connections made between cultural authentication and powwow regalia and because of the paucity of research on the use of ceremonial dress in the identity of North Carolina American Indians, this study provides a much needed foundation that can be used to address the many gaps in the literature on the topic of North Carolina American Indians and their ceremonial dress that were revealed in Chapter II.

Implications

All participants in this study think that their powwow dress is fundamental to establishing their identity as American Indians. As powwow participants, ceremonial dress and dance is the primary means of expressing this "Indianness" to others. Participants made it clear that their powwow regalia defines who they are in relation to American Indian culture. Although the regalia establishes the Indian identity of the powwow participant, it also allows for expression of the more personal facets of identity, permitting the participant to recognize and reveal what is important to him, such as loved ones or spiritual beliefs.

In order to create regalia, participants rely on knowledge of the history of ceremonial dress styles, particularly its Plains Indian or Eastern Woodlands origin. They also understand the significance of the symbols and designs incorporated into their regalia. If they did not, they would likely offend other American Indians by using symbols in the wrong way. Participants establish an identity through their choice of symbols and designs. Being able to rely on the history and meanings of symbols to create authentic regalia establishes these participants as American Indians in their own eyes and in the eyes of others who share in this history and the interpretation of these symbols.

As Chapter IV described, participants are very knowledgeable about the history of the regalia that pertains to each of the dances examined in this study. All three of these dances have Plains Indian origins and the regalia that is common to these dances comes from Plains Indian culture. Although some of the powwow participants do wear Eastern Woodlands inspired regalia, they all described the Plains Indian history associated with the dance when asked to describe the regalia worn for Northern Men's Traditional Dance, Grass Dance, and Fancy Dance. Moreover, Plains Indian styles are most recognized as "Indian" as compared to the Eastern Woodlands styles that would be more traditional to the Southeast. Such findings suggest that in order for North Carolina American Indians to create a powwow experience that is indicative of local and regional traditions, broader communication of non-Plains or non Pan-Indian styles is needed. This means that North Carolina powwow dancers will need to educate non-Indians about the differences between Plains Indian style regalia and Eastern Woodlands style regalia. Doing so will help North Carolina American Indians establish a unique form of the powwow that will

attract other American Indians and establish a more recognizable region-specific American Indian identity through dress. For instance, at many North Carolina powwows, printed programs designed to educate spectators about powwow protocol only describe Plains Indian dress and dance styles. It is recommended that this information be expanded to include information on local regalia styles, such as the Eastern Woodlands influenced regalia worn by powwow participants like Greyfox and Blackfeather. Ultimately, local and regional styles of dress can become a more integral part of the North Carolina powwow and the identity of the North Carolina American Indian powwow dancer.

This study provides insight beyond the more immediate connotations of American "Indianness" that are communicated by regalia, to the deeper, more personal meanings that it can express about the wearer. Prior to data collection, I incorrectly assumed that very little could be expressed about the individual through powwow dress. However, the opposite is true, as I found that personal identity is an important element of meaning within powwow dress, especially as gifting and honoring are quite often expressed through powwow dress. Personal identity is also tied to sharing the experience of military service. Indeed, the reverence of veterans among modern American Indian culture relates directly to the importance of the warrior in the Plains Indian society that permeated the West before European contact. Honoring service in the Armed Forces allows veterans to share this experience with others and to come to terms with it through dancing. In order to fully understand the importance of warrior status and the role of veterans at powwows in general, more research on the various ways that the dimensions

of identity is communicated by regalia is needed, particularly that which compares regalia worn by American Indians within different regions of the country..

A goal of this study was to explore the ways that American Indians in North Carolina use regalia to create identity given the loss of their particular tribal histories and culture. Because of this loss, it was not surprising to see very little tribal identity expressed through participants' regalia. The only federally recognized North Carolina American Indian tribe, the Eastern Band of the Cherokee Indian, was indeed the only one that consistently used regalia to express tribal identity. Findings of the study point to how the lack of historical knowledge about tribal history means that it has not been fully incorporated into powwow dress in recognizable ways as of yet. Indeed, there are few resources available to address this lack of knowledge about local historic dress. Yet some suggest that indication of tribal identity in regalia is less important than an overall, united American Indian identity that can be communicated to non-Indians at powwows, as the latter is what speaks to non-Indian spectators the most. However, for those who do seek to find ways to recapture their own unique tribal connections, regalia can be a link to this past. In fact, more young North Carolina American Indians are beginning to participate in powwows. Understanding more about their own historic dress will empower them as American Indians and help to ensure that future generations continue the traditions.

In this study, it was found that aside from the Cherokee, those who express tribal identity do so by claiming the broader Eastern Woodlands regalia as their tribal dress, such as turban headdresses and European-style shirts and robes. Participants who integrate the Eastern Woodlands influence seek to establish an identity that is "closer to

home" than that of the Plains. Indeed, almost all of the participants who wear Plains Indian based regalia expressed the desire to have more historically tribal-based regalia influences to draw from. In a similar vein, such influences would help to broaden interpretations of authenticity in American Indian historic dress beyond that of the Plains, which could benefit North Carolina's state recognized tribes in their attempts at federal recognition. Moreover, North Carolina tribes could use such sources to create a powwow that is distinctly regional or North Carolinian in nature.

This study supports existing research that indicates the extent to which North Carolina American Indians use Pan-Indian symbols that come from Plains Indian styles to tell others that they are "American Indian" (Ellis, 2003b). Likewise, Pan-Indian symbols are used by American Indians throughout the United States to communicate a unified culture. Pan-Indian styles and symbols were used by North Carolina tribes to establish ties to their lost culture as American Indians, which not only helped them to define their identity, but to share this identity with non-Indians (Goertzen, 2001). Admittedly, the use of Pan-Indian styles and symbols by tribes throughout the country has been researched extensively (Goertzen, 2001). However the present study is among the first to examine these Pan-Indian styles and symbols specifically as they are used to create modern North Carolina American Indian powwow dress. More detailed examination of the use of Pan-Indian styles and symbols by North Carolina American Indians is needed, particularly that which explores the distinct influences of Northern Plains' pan-Indian styles versus Southern Plains' pan-Indian styles.

This study explored the theoretical framework of cultural authentication relative to the creation and acquisition of powwow regalia by North Carolina American Indians. Based on the findings as well as the previous literature, two conceptual frameworks emerged that can be used to explain the cultural authentication process of North Carolina American Indian regalia. As it was revealed that the use of Plains Indians and Eastern Woodlands historic dress dominates the North Carolina powwow, two variations of cultural authentication, temporo-cultural authentication and temporal authentication, were found to best explain the process of creation and acquisition of powwow regalia by North Carolina American Indians.

The steps of temporo-cultural authentication help to explain how North Carolina American Indians adopt historic Plains Indian dress and use it in their powwow regalia. As the use of historic Plains Indians dress means that the North Carolina American Indian must look across time periods and cultures, the framework of temporo-cultural authentication applies. Based on the interpretation of the data presented in this study, the process of temporo-cultural authentication occurs with the *incorporation* of a Plains Indian element into the regalia. *Selection* and *transformation* of the dress occur after *incorporation*, and then the powwow participant will *characterize* the dress when meaning is established.

The second framework, temporal authentication, applies to North Carolina American Indian powwow participants who choose their own historic tribal dress or regional dress for use in their powwow regalia. They do this by *incorporation*. *Selection* and *characterization* would come next with the step of *transformation* being optional.

Generally speaking, cultural authentication is useful for developing a framework in which to understand how ethnic groups use dress from other time periods and cultures and establish this dress as authentic. As was found in this study, North Carolina American Indians have created their own authentic dress through acquiring Plains Indian dress and by using dress that they consider local to their own tribes. In light of the extant literature, the present study is the first to apply the concept of cultural authentication to American Indian powwow dress in general, and the first to examine powwow dress specifically as it is worn by North Carolina American Indians. Ultimately, this study contributes to our understanding of how an authentically traditional cultural identity is created and expressed through dress, even within the modern world. To create an even more detailed picture of the use of cultural authentication in powwow regalia, examination of how aspects of modern military symbols and styles are adopted by North Carolina American Indians from other cultures or from Armed Forces prescribed dress is needed.

This research provides an important starting point for understanding North Carolina American Indian identity as expressed through dress. A qualitative approach was appropriate given the need for in-depth insight into the meanings of North Carolina American Indian dress and the cultural authentication process. Although this study provides depth to our knowledge of these concepts, more research is needed, particularly interpretive studies that explore the diverse ways that cultural groups like American Indians use dress to integrate the past with the present as a means of defining who they are now and for the future. Specifically, trends in styles worn for powwows were found to originate in the West even today. This modern day diffusion process needs further

investigation, as it was found to be an important factor in the use of Plains styles among North Carolina American Indians.

A great deal more research is needed with regard to historic North Carolina American Indian dress. Indeed, many of the participants in this study would prefer to wear historic North Carolina American Indian dress, but are unable to do so because of a lack of information about their own history. Such research will have important implications for the future of North Carolina American Indian powwow dress. Moreover, women's powwow regalia is in need of investigation, as their role in powwows is becoming increasingly visible depending on the tribe and geographic location. Likewise, the scale of this study could be expanded upon. That is, there is a powwow happening in North Carolina or a neighboring state almost every weekend from Spring to Fall. There are therefore many opportunities to explore the complexity of North Carolina American Indian culture and use of regalia to express identity.

In conclusion, this dissertation revealed how North Carolina American Indians create cultural identity through powwow dress and the ways that powwow dress is used to communicate the personal, tribal, and American Indian dimensions of this identity. Powwows are an important context for expression of North Carolina American Indian culture to the broader public. Dress is critical to understanding what it means to be a North Carolina American Indian and to ensuring that the expression of North Carolina American Indian culture continues well into the future.

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APPENDIX A

FIELD INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. What is your tribal affiliation?
2. Describe the clothing that you are wearing.
3. What components are included in your regalia (bustle, roach etc.)?
4. Explain how your clothing relates to the dance that you perform during the powwow.
5. How is your tribal membership reflected in your clothing?
6. Are there any particular outside influences on the style of regalia you are wearing?
7. Is there anything you would like to tell me about your clothing?
8. Would you be interested in being interviewed more in-depth about your powwow dress?

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. What is your tribal affiliation?
2. When did you begin dancing at powwows?
3. What led you to dancing?
4. Describe the dance or dances you typically perform at a powwow.
5. Describe the components that are included in your regalia (bustle, roach etc.)?
6. Explain how the regalia that you wear to dance at a powwow relates to the dance that you perform during the powwow.
7. Are there strict dress codes for each dance? Or are you allowed to create your own regalia from your own tribal identity or tribal influences?
8. What are some of the historical influences on your regalia?
9. Does your regalia communicate your relationship to your tribe? How?
10. Does your regalia represent you as an Indian (with no tribal distinction)? How?
11. Have you added personal items to your regalia? If so, what are these items?
12. What do the various colors and symbols present? Are these meanings specific to you or shared by the tribe?
13. Do you know where some of these styles come from? If so, can you explain?
14. Do these styles symbolize Indian identity in general? Why or why not?
15. What does it mean to participate in powwows today for you as an individual and as a member of a tribe?
16. Is dress important to this participation? How/why?
17. Would you consider wearing regalia directly influenced by historic North Carolina Indian dress if information about this dress was available to you?

18. If this information is available, is it impacting regalia styles? How?

19. Do you think it is important for your regalia to reflect elements of historic dress specific to your tribe? Why? Why not?

20. Is there anything we did not talk about today that you think is important for me to know about powwow dress or Indian cultural identity?

APPENDIX C

IRB CONSENT FORM

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT GREENSBORO

CONSENT TO ACT AS A HUMAN PARTICIPANT: LONG FORM

Project Title: Contemporary North Carolina American Indian Powwow Dress: Exploration of Tradition, Culture, and Ethnic Identity

Project Director: Dr. Nancy Hodges

Participant's Name: _____

What is the study about?
This is a research project. The purpose of this study is to examine the influences on North Carolina American Indian powwow regalia.

Why are you asking me?
I am asking you to participate because as an adult male powwow dancer, your knowledge of your own regalia and its origins will provide unique insight into the research topic.

What will you ask me to do if I agree to be in the study?
You will be asked to be interviewed regarding your knowledge of your own regalia and your tribe's use of powwow regalia in relation to cultural identity. On agreement to be interviewed, the interview will last approximately 1 to 2 hours. Once transcription of the interview is complete, you will be asked to review this transcript. This review will take approximately 1 to 2 hours.

Is there any audio/video recording?
Digital audio recording will be used to ensure reliability of data collected and to gather information about your experiences with powwow regalia in relation to tribal identity. Because your voice will be potentially identifiable by anyone who hears the tape, your confidentiality for things you say on the tape cannot be guaranteed although the researcher will try to limit access to the tape as described below.

What are the dangers to me?
The Institutional Review Board at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro has determined that participation in this study poses minimal risk to participants. As mentioned above, there is a slight risk of breach of confidentiality related to audio recording. Measures that will be implemented to minimize this risk are described in the confidentiality section below.

If you have any concerns about your rights, how you are being treated or if you have questions, want more information or have suggestions, please contact Eric Allen in the Office of Research Compliance at UNCG at (336) 256-1482. Questions, concerns or complaints about this project or benefits or risks associated with being in this study can be answered by name of Dr. Nancy Hodges, who may be contacted at 336-256–0291 or njnelson@uncg.edu, or Beth Bell at 336-260-6180 or bmbell@uncg.edu.

Are there any benefits to me for taking part in this research study?
There are no direct benefits to participants in this study.

Are there any benefits to society as a result of me taking part in this research?
Your participation in this study may help in understanding how North Carolina American Indians use

UNCG IRB
Approved Consent Form
Valid 3/19/12 to 3/18/13

influences from other historical periods and cultures to create tribal culture and traditions.

Will I get paid for being in the study? Will it cost me anything?
There are no costs to you or payments made for participating in this study.

How will you keep my information confidential?
Consent forms will be stored in a locked file cabinet in the Principal Investigator's campus office, audio files will be password protected, and participants will not be identified by name when data are disseminated. All information obtained in this study is strictly confidential unless disclosure is required by law. Consent forms will be kept for three years after the close of the study and destroyed by shredding. Audio files will be kept password protected on the student researcher's home computer for a minimum of five to a maximum of seven years upon completion of the study. The files will be erased after this time. The file containing links between participants' identities and pseudonyms used in published materials will be kept separate from data and will be erased no more than seven years after the end of the study.

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What if I want to leave the study?
You have the right to refuse to participate or to withdraw at any time, without penalty. If you do withdraw, it will not affect you in any way. If you choose to withdraw, you may request that any of your data which has been collected be destroyed unless it is in a de-identifiable state.

What about new information/changes in the study?
If significant new information relating to the study becomes available which may relate to your willingness to continue to participate, this information will be provided to you.

Voluntary Consent by Participant:
By signing this consent form you are agreeing that you read, or it has been read to you, and you fully understand the contents of this document and are openly willing consent to take part in this study. All of your questions concerning this study have been answered. By signing this form, you are agreeing that you are 18 years of age or older and are agreeing to participate, or have the individual specified above as a participant participate, in this study described to you by Beth Bell.

Signature: _____ Date: _____